Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-95-136 *17 July 1995*

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UN Commander Not To Attend Vienna Conference

LD1507160595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1547 GMT 15 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vienna, July 15 (TANJUG)—Commander of U.N. peacekeepers in Bosnia, British General Rupert Smith has cancelled participation in the 25th Vienna seminar on prevention of conflicts and measures for preserving international peace.

The organizers did not state the reason for the cancellation but it is believed that the deteriorating situation in Bosnia has prevented Smith's arrival.

Smith was expected on Saturday to speak about measures for restoring peace in the former Yugoslavia.

Chief prosecutor of the international tribunal for war crimes in the former Yugoslavia Richard Goldstone will address the gathering on Monday 17 July.

The seminar is organized by the Austrian Foreign Ministry, the Defense Academy and the international New York-based Peace A

Numerous diplomats, politicians and experts are attending the seminar that ends on July 18.

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London To Back Lifting Embargo After UN Pullout

AU1707114695 Paris AFP in English
1123 GMT 17 Jul 95

[Report by Angus MacKinnon]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Brussels, July 17 (AFP)—Britain warned Monday [17 July] that Gorazde could not be defended without U.S. military backing, casting doubt on whether the international community will act to prevent another UN safe haven falling to the Bosnian Serbs.

The warning came as European Union foreign ministers held urgent talks with Russian foreign minister Andrei Kozyrev here and as the Bosnian Serbs appeared poised to overrun Zepa, which would leave Gorazde as the last surviving Moslem enclave in eastern Bosnia.

British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind said the reinforcement of the enclave by the 12,000 strong Anglo-French rapid reaction force was dependent on the U.S. providing attack and support helicopters to carry the troops deep into territory controlled by the Bosnian Serbs. [passage omitted]

The presence of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in Bosnia had to be underpinned by a "minimum of consent" from all the parties, Rifkind said.

"UNPROFOR cannot transform itself from a peacekeeping and humanitarian force into a war-fighting force."

Rifkind did not however totally rule out military action to help UNPROFOR "carry out the mandate it has and ensure that it is properly protected.

"Against this background we must consider any military option that is within the mandate and which is based on sound military judgement." [passage omitted]

Despite his caution on reinforcing Gorazde, Rifkind indicated Britain would back French plans to force open a relief route into the besieged Bosnian capital, Sarajevo.

"We want to see Sarajevo resupplied. If it is seen as a practical military option there can be no difficulty about giving support to such a proposition," Rifkind said.

The inability of the western powers to agree on a common strategy appears to have increased the likelihood of the UN troops beign forced to withdraw. [passage omitted]

In a sign that this is increasingly seen as a likely outcome of recent developments, British officials indicated that London would support lifting the arms embargo once the UN had left to allow the Moslems to defend themselves.

The west has always backed away from withdrawal in the past because of fears that it could lead to a broader Balkan conflict. EU mediator Carl Bildt has warned however that this risk also exists if the UN stays and seeks to take a tougher line with the Bosnian Serbs.

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Rugova Welcomes Clinton's 'Constructive Support'

AU1707094195

[FBIS Editorial Report] Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian on 15 July carries on pages 1 and 3 a 1,000-word report by Behar Zogjani on a news conference given by Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, "president of the Republic of Kosova," in Pristina on 13 July, under the title "Clinton's Constructive Support for Kosova."

Rugova is reported as saying, "We welcome the stand taken by President Clinton against any spread of the conflict to the south of the Balkans, and his constructive support for the cause of Kosova. We again welcome the amendment on Kosova approved by the House of Representatives, calling on Kosova to be taken under international protection—that is, as a separate entity."

Rugova is then reported as talking about the "systematic repression" of the Serbian regime in Kosovo and continuing attempts to colonize Kosovo with Serbs from Croatia and Bosnia.

Asked by a journalist to comment on a statement by the Kosovo Peasants Party announcing a suspension of its activities, Rugova is reported as saying that this statement will be considered at the Coordinating Council of Political Parties. "I see this as a process hastening matters toward positive developments, not a damaging statement." Asked by another journalist about a similar statement issued by "one wing of the Kosova Social Democrat Party" concerning "a moratorium of political parties in Kosova, and encouraging parties to close down" Rugova said, "If the Social Democratic Party has called on a moratorium on destructive criticism and quarrels of different kinds, this is a good thing. I have not heard about any other moratoriums, and we will discuss this with all the political parties."

'Filthy Slanders' Over U.S.-Used Base Deplored

AU1707084495 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 15 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by Mentor Shehu: "KOHA JONE in the Language of Communist Tradition Against 'American Imperialism'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The strengthening, consolidation, and progress of Albania's vital political, economic, and military ties with the United States and with West Europe have caused serious confusion among some political circles at home and abroad, because these ties of cooperation banish any hope they may have of undoing Albania and leaving her isolated and defenseless. KOHA JONE serves this end, no more and no less, when it uses the language of communist tradition against what Enver Hoxha's communist press in his 50 years of rule used to call "American imperialism, the bugbear and enemy of the peoples." The article "Tense Situation at the Gjader Air Base" is typical of such an archaic communist attitude in the press. KOHA JONE writes about the U.S. servicemen who today watch developments in Bosnia in the same way as ZERI I POPULLIT used to write, and still does, against U.S. bases in other countries, and against the servicemen, describing them as enemies of the peoples. KOHA JONE also casts the most filthy slanders over the relations between Albanian and U.S. servicemen, calling the latter "guests" in quotation marks, because this newspaper considers them uninvited. This is why Albanian servicemen try to frighten them with threatening behavior at every step.

However KOHA JONE may slander and lie, it will not achieve its perverted aims with this language that is so ridiculous, yet also disturbing in its mischievous intentions. Albania today considers the U.S. Army as its closest ally, because, above all, the United States today is defending the interests of the Albanian nation and is a factor maintaining stability in the area, against the wishes of such states as Serbia.

Berisha Asks Greece for Support Regarding EU

NC1407114395 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 0900 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In a letter to Greek President Konstandinos Stefanopoulos, Albanian President Sali Berisha asks Greece to support a closer relationship between Albania and the EU. An adviser of the Albanian president, who is visiting Athens, gave the letter to Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias.

Greek Commission Signs Accord on Taxation

AU1507170895 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] An agreement to abolish double taxation between Albania and Greece was signed at the Foreign Ministry today. Both sides agreed that the period of the seasonal employment of Albanians in Greece will be within this summer or in the first days of September. Tefta Radi has the report:

[Radi] The Albanian-Greek joint commission concluded its proceedings today. The chairmen of the two delegations, Albanian Deputy Foreign Minister Arian Starova and secretary general at the Greek Foreign Ministry, Konstandinos Yeoryiou, spoke to reporters at a joint news conference today.

They confirmed with pleasure the success of the second meeting of the Albanian-Greek joint commission as a continuation of the Athens meeting, the completely

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new climate in the relations between the two countries, the good will by both governments, and the increase of reciprocal visits that are accompanied by concrete results. Both sides agreed to accelerate the procedures of the free movement of citizens of both countries, stressing the fact that steps forward have been carried out in this process and in the system of granting visas, and not only here, but also in developing economic and trade relations.

Messrs. Starova and Yeoryiou stressed that both sides are moving toward completing a procedure of seasonally employing Albanians in Greece, to meet a deadline in the summer or the beginning of September this year.

Meanwhile, the problem of the legalization of Albanian emigrants in Greece has made progress. According to Mr. Yeoryiou, this problem is being studied by the Greek authorities to provide a solution based on Greek legislation and the obligations Greece has to face as a European Union [EU] member.

Starova and Yeoryiou stated that Albania and Greece will soon sign a cultural agreement, thus respecting the educational needs of the citizens of both countries and responding to their spiritual demands.

Regarding the property of Albanian nationals and the Cam population in particular, Mr. Starova pointed out that we received a guarantee from the Greek side that the procedures will be implemented on the basis of Greek legislation.

According to Mr. Yeoryiou, solutions have been found to many issues related to the properties, but these problems, for their own judicial character, need time and a detailed investigation.

On behalf of the Greek side, Mr. Yeoryiou put forward the demand to abolish Albanian visas for Greek citizens, so that they have the same treatment as the citizens of other EU member states.

One of the topics treated at today's news conference was the holding of a meeting at presidential level between Berisha and Stefanopoulos within this year, which will create new areas in Albanian-Greek relations.

Both sides testified and stated that the relations between the two countries are on the rise and their course will have concrete results. Yeoryiou expressed the special pleasure of the Greek Government for Albania's admission to the Council of Europe and considered this act as the start of closer cooperation with Albania and its contribution within a European framework.

Both sides assessed the good work of the commission on border issues, fight against crime, and avoidance of border incidents, particularly assessing cooperation in the field of public order and security, which influences in avoiding illegal border crossings, the speakers stated.

The Greek delegation was also received today by Dylber Vrioni, deputy prime minister and minister of finance. Mr. Vrioni stressed the achievements made within the framework of the economic bilateral and multilateral cooperation. He also focused on the special importance of constructing corridors within the framework of cross border programs, such as the Durres-Kapshtice and Durres-Kakavije ones. The Bari-Durres corridor will be added to the aforementioned ones in the framework of the cooperation of European programs among the neighboring countries as Albania, Italy, and Greece.

According to Mr. Vrioni, the agreement to avoid double taxation is a positive step forward in strengthening economic relations.

He also focused on the field of cooperation and exchanging information between the customs offices of both countries. Mr. Vrioni stressed as important the fact that several Greek banks want to open their branches in Albania, including the largest Greek bank, the Greek National Trade Bank, which will be a great step forward in strengthening relations between the two countries and a condition both for ensuring a normal development of trade exchanges between the two countries and transferring money by respective nationals.

Mr. Vrioni expressed the desire to resolve expeditiously the issue of the foreign debt with Greece, stressing the Albanian Government's will to remedy such obligations. On the other hand, he stressed the fact that the solution to this problem opens new prospects in financial and economic cooperation between the two countries.

Mr. Vrioni also mentioned the signing of six similar agreements with West European countries last year and the desire to hold talks together and resolve this problem with the Greek Government as well.

Mr. Yeoryiou again expressed positively the Greek Government's commitment to resolve problems to come out of the framework of political will into concrete measures. Once again, he expressed the Greek Government's support in the future for Albania's integration into European organizations.

Croatians Sign Joint Agreement on Visas

AU1507164695 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Foreign Ministry's Press and Information Directorate reports that from 11-14 July, a group of experts on the system of visas between Albania and Croatia held its first meeting at the Foreign

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Ministry. The Albanian delegation was presided over by Miriam Bisha, director of the Consular Directorate to the Foreign Ministry, and the Croatian delegation by (Borislav Zivokiv), director of the Consular Directorate to the Croatian Foreign Ministry. Both delegations discussed the possibilities of facilitating visas for the nationals of both countries.

At the end of the meeting, they signed a joint statement envisaging the acceleration of the procedure of granting visas as the first step toward completely abolishing them.

Meksi, Zhulali Attend Military Exercise

AU1607172995 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 15 Jul 95

[Report by Pandeli Ristani]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In the wake of the exercises codenamed Erzeni, Voskopja, Shipska, and Bushati '95, another exercise codenamed Olapsi '95 was carried out at a Kukes garrison yesterday. It is worth mentioning that the participants who carried out the training were recruits who had just completed their three months of obligatory military service.

To follow this military exercise closely, Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi, Defense Minister Safet Zhulali, and chief of the Army General Staff General Sheme Kosova came to the garrison.

The Olapsi '95 exercise revealed the value of the experience gained, the leading and command capabilities of the officers, the high training level of the army staffs, and the readiness and effectiveness of weapons and military techniques.

The training exercise that was observed by those present revealed the mastery of maneuvers and the synchronization of actions with fire maneuvers and with all kinds of weapons that the unit has at its disposal. [passage omitted]

Those present yesterday closely observed another special moment. For the first time, Albanian soldiers carried out a military firing practice with antitank rockets, which was performed with full success. [passage omitted]

Considering problems in view of the very aggravated situation in the region, Prime Minister Meksi proposed tasks to raise the training level of the army further.

Defense Minister Zhulali stressed that the reform goes ahead in all its components. We should particularly concentrate on professionalism and intensify training. Despite the difficulties, under the personal care of commander in chief President Berisha, we have started to introduce new equipment to raise the efficiency of our defense. More will be done in the future with our friends' support. Albania follows a policy of peace and stability, and strengthening its defense serves this policy, Zhulali concluded.

Opposition Gives President 'Cold Shoulder'

AU1707091795 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 15 Jul 95 p 4

[Unattributed article: "The Opposition Gives Berisha the Cold Shoulder"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—President Berisha toasted in water the national day of the home of champagne. Nevertheless, the Albanian president who came to celebrate France's national day for the first time since his election to high office did not clink his glass with the representatives of the opposition. "This is not the U.S. Embassy," a foreign diplomat said, referring to Berisha's handshake with leaders of the opposition a few days ago. For their part, the leaders of the largest Albanian parties preferred to give Berisha the cold shoulder. While Berisha was making his rounds of greetings in the hall of Hotel Tirana, Mr. Ceka and his wife pretended ignorance of the presence in the room of his former rival. Zogaj and Imami did more or less the same thing, intentionally avoiding shaking hands with the president. In contrast to the representatives of the Democratic Alliance who pretended to ignore him, the deputy chairmen of the Socialist Party seemed to be more determined not to meet the president. "Once is normal, twice is overdoing it," said Luan Hajdaraga, referring to meetings with the president at the U.S. Embassy. Namik Dokle, asked why he had given the president the cold shoulder, replied humorously, "Where I come from, we present our chest to an enemy, whereas our shoulders..." "For us, as the opposition, it is enough for us to say good morning to the president," Dokle added. [reference to statement by Berisha in 1993, saying that the time will come when the government will say "Good morning, opposition."]

However, the sole striking feature of Berisha's 35-minute greeting, in which he was accompanied by the French ambassador in Tirana, was the handshake with Mr. and Mrs. Pashko, which the president had managed to avoid at the U.S. Embassy celebration.

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UN Envoy Opposes French Plan for Bosnia

LD1407125595 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Karel Kovanda, the ambassador and permanent representative of the Czech Republic to the United Nations, says that the eventuality of unilateral French action in Bosnia would destroy the UN peacekeeping mission in the former Yugoslavia. Kovanda gave this view when commenting on information that French Defense Minister Charles Millon has indicated the possibility of regrouping French troops in order to break the Serbian siege of Sarajevo.

Kovanda said that the deployment of a UN military force in Bosnia would have serious consequences and would demonstrate the vulnerability of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], which is equipped for keeping but not enforcing peace. Kovanda stressed that the Czech Republic opposes the withdrawal of UNPROFOR from Bosnia because this would lead to an immediate withdrawal of the peacekeeping forces, including the Czech battalion, from Croatia.

Havel on Bosnia: International Total Failure

LD1607120395 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 16 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In his Sunday "Conversations at Lany" interview, Czech President Vaclav Havel comments on the current situation in Bosnia:

[Begin Havel recording] Unfortunately, the appalling events of the past few days in Bosnia and Herzegovina have repeatedly proved right the view I adopted a long time ago and that I have already expressed many times—and for which on occasion I was criticized. If I blame myself for anything, I blame myself for not having said these things forcefully and clearly enough and for the fact that, to a certain extent, I have taken diplomatic considerations into account.

In my view, it is obvious who the bandits and terrorists are. I think the evil has to be fought from the very beginning; the more we delay it, the more human lives are sacrificed and the more difficult it is to fight the evil in the end.

What has been happening there is total failure of the international community vis-a-vis bandits. [end recording]

Prime Minister: No Links to Pro-Sudeten Leaflets

LD1507151795 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 15 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] People in Brno found in their mailboxes leaflets entitled "Federal Government Information for the Leadership of the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft." Our correspondent Bohumir Mazac is on the phone:

[Mazac] With regard to the future destiny of Sudeten Germans and their planned return to the Czech Republic, it is essential to give support in parliamentary elections to the ruling Civic Democratic Party [ODS] and its coalition partners, the ODA [Civic Democratic Alliance] and the KDU-CSL [Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party]. Their victory is the only guarantee that the injustices committed on our fellow citizens by the Czechs will be put right.

This is how the text, called confidential, begins. The names of Helmut Kohl and Theo Waigel are written at the end of the text.

The text further says that, before parliamentary elections, the Federal Republic of Germany will symbolically compensate the Czech victims of the war. In return, the leadership of the Czech Republic, following its victory in parliamentary elections, will pass a law on dual citizenship, grant citizenship to Sudeten Germans, and pass a law on the restitution of property confiscated after 30 September 1938.

The meeting of these demands will be ensured also in the event of a coalition between the ODS and Social Democracy. A secret agreement about this was allegedly concluded by the chairmen of the two parties.

According to the text, this plan of action has been confirmed at top-level talks between officials of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Czech Republic.

It has not yet been discovered who disseminated these leaflets among the Brno inhabitants.

Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus believes, according to the head of his office, Dagmar Mrazova, that the Czech side will call the leaflet a fake. At the same time, he objects to any of the offered concessions being linked to his person or to the Civic Democratic Party.

SCK Leader Reports on Russian Trip

AU1407191095 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 13 Jul 95 p 16

[Article by Dalibor Balsinek: "Stepan Held Talks With Former KGB Head Kryuchkov on Situation in the Czech Republic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Miroslav Stepan, secretary general of the Party of Czechoslovak Communists (SCK), campaigned for socialism yesterday in a godforsaken Prague workers district of "Na Maninach," "renowned"

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for communist Spartakiads at the time of the First Republic.

"I would like to announce that, although our party has not existed for more than two months, according to unofficial and unnamed agencies, it has 1.8-percent voter support," Stepan claimed with a straight face in the introduction of the press conference.

As early as 0930, an SCK apparatchik was looking in front of the Domovina beer pub for reporters and parties interested in meeting Stepan. Only a handful of reporters came and just one interested party: a woman of about 50, who was finishing other guests' leftovers immediately before the meeting in Domovina.

Stepan came up with his visit to Moscow, from where he had returned several days earlier, strengthened by the talks at the 30th CPSU Congress. "The Soviet communists adopted a program for the revival of the USSR, which I consider very realistic," he said convincingly, still under the influence of the congress atmosphere. He added that the forthcoming parliamentary elections in Russia would confirm his words.

People who had "proved their courage" several times over were elected to head the CPSU. There is among them one of the leaders of the revolt against President Yeltsin, General Ligachev, and former KGB boss Kryuchkov. Stepan did not omit mentioning that it was none other than Kryuchkov with whom he discussed the situation in the Czech Republic and the reasons for the revolution in November 1989. He refused to give any details about these talks, however, saying that he still had to ponder them over the summer. "An election victory by the CPSU would buttress the position of the communist parties in the countries of the former Soviet bloc," he stated.

The SCK intends to present its election program in September. "We have asked several prominent personalities to run in the parliamentary elections for our party," he said. But he refused to name them.

Stepan was irritated by the dismissal of Ivo Havlik from the post of editor in chief of the communist weekly NASE PRAVDA [Our Truth], which, according to him, was arranged by Grebenicek's Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia. Stepan accused the latter of nondemocratic action, even of violating the law. At the same time, he admitted that there are great controversies between these communistically oriented parties. "It will not take long. I even believe that soon only one, large, and strong communist party will exist in the Czech Republic," prophesied Stepan, whom the aforementioned lady encouraged by exclaiming: "Excellent, excellent, that's how it should be."

Government Abrogates Wage Regulations

AU1407135995 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 13 Jul 95 p 1

[Report by "pin": "The Government Abrogated Wage Regulation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Following an earlier promise, the government yesterday abrogated the wage regulations. Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus commented on this during the debate, saying that, while the limits do not in fact have an impact on the enterprises, they do have a certain psychological effect, which many of the government members have been convinced of for some time.

Therefore the government believes that the abrogation of the regulation will not have an immediate impact increasing inflation or unemployment. "We have really come to this conclusion only now," Klaus added.

The government also acknowledged the report by Industry and Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy on the expected delay in the completion of the construction of the Temelin nuclear power plant. The reason given is the necessary transformation of the subcontractors' relations to the market principle. "It has taken longer than we expected," Klaus said, and the government entrusted Dlouhy with the task of intensively dealing with this issue and submitting another report by the end of September.

According to the prime minister, the cost of the construction should increase to approximately 5 billion korunas. As we reported earlier, until recently, Dlouhy claimed that the cost of the construction does not have to be higher.

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Delegation Sees Help Coming From U.S. Congress

LD1407225895 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2200 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] U.S. Congress members intend to take specific steps in the near future to support democracy in Slovakia, either by writing a letter to the Slovak Government, adopting a resolution, or in another way. They intend to take this step in order to draw the Slovak Government's attention to the fact that the stability of Central Europe is very important to the United States.

This was announced by Laszlo Nagy and Bela Bugar, [Hungarian coalition] deputies of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, at the end of their working visit to Washington. They say that these steps will be concerned not only with the situation of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia but also with what they call undemocratic steps against the president and the Democratic Union.

During their five-day visit to Washington, Bugar, Nagy, and Miklos Duray met 20 U.S. political officials and members of their group.

Opposition: SNS Claims Show Coalition Crisis

AU1407135695 Bratislava SME in Slovak 13 Jul 95 pp 1-2

[Article by "(bog)" and "(pt)": "The Opposition Is Claiming That There Is a Crisis in the Coalition; According to P. Csaky, the SNS Is Interested in a Ministerial Post for V. Moric"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"I urge them to seek psychiatric treatment because this is a clear case of paranoia," said Democratic Union Deputy Chairman R. Kovac yesterday. He was reacting to a statement issued by the Slovak National Party [SNS] Presidium, according to which the SNS has information that foreign financial circles, including the well-known U.S. financier G. Soros, "plan to invest, with the goal of destabilizing our society, millions of dollars that are intended to corrupt deputies." "These investments are supposed to amount to as much as $10 million per deputy. After the necessary number of deputies' votes has been obtained, a new palace revolution and picking up the power lying on the ground are planned for September," says the SNS statement.

P. Csaky from the Hungarian Coalition expressed the view that "signs of tension are emerging" within the governing coalition. "We have information that the SNS is interested in the post of economy minister for V. Moric and that, in return for its support for the Hungarian-Slovak treaty, it is demanding further concessions from the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]," he said. P. Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], said that the SNS's claims would be funny if they did not also testify to the seriousness of the crisis in the coalition. Invoking the image of an enemy and scaring citizens are, according to him, proof of the governing coalition's withering self-confidence in its own policy. "I will not allow such stupidities to be foisted on me; this is a method of political rivalry applied by political primitives who abuse their deputies' mandates and blurt out whatever comes into their minds to discredit their political opponents," declared the SDL chairman. F. Miklosko, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement, said the following regarding the SNS statement: "If someone who is not involved were to read this, he would say it is a figment of a sick mind. If a person with historical recall were to read this, he would say that people were imprisoned and executed in the 1950's on the basis of such accusations. Because I know that this was said by Mr. Slota and the SNS Presidium, I believe that the SNS, as part of the coalition, is incapable of resolving problems. It has raised the democratic little old ladies' [babky-demokratky] fares increasing the cost of energy, telephones, and so and it wants to divert attention from these things." I. Cabaj, chairman of the HZDS Deputies' Club, said laconically: "They did not offer me anything." He added that, judging by his experiences from the last electoral period, "anything is possible, and time will tell."

Council Votes To End Coupon Privatization

AU1407131595 Bratislava SME in Slovak 13 Jul 95 pp 1-2

[Article by "(bog)" and "(pt)": "In Yesterday's NR SR Vote, 76 Deputies Decided To End Coupon Privatization in Slovakia"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—National Council of the Slovak Republic [NR SR] deputies decided yesterday to end coupon privatization in Slovakia by approving an amendment to the law on large-scale privatization. Of the 133 deputies, 76 supported the amendment, 53 opposed it, two deputies abstained, and two did not vote. The approval of this amendment means, in essence, the end of coupon privatization in Slovakia. The coupon method is being transformed into so-called remuneration by means of National Property Fund [FNM] bonds, while the amendment increases the FNM's authority in privatization to the detriment of the government and the Privatization Ministry. [passage omitted]

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Opposition deputies, as they had done the day before, referred critically to the negative consequences of changing the concept for economic transformation, to the retroactive change in the conditions for coupon privatization, and to transferring jurisdiction from the Privatization Ministry to the FNM.

B. Kunc (Slovak National Party) compared privatization to a large garden party that, understandably, ended up "not being the same for everyone." He criticized the participation of the investment privatization funds in the first coupon privatization wave and said that citizens had no opportunity to influence the results of their economic activity. L. Cernak (Democratic Union) declared that the law's amendment is politically motivated because "the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia's [HZDS] election campaign had cost a lot of money. Compared with this, the other parties' campaigns were financed from children's piggy banks. Now the time has come for the victorious movement to pay back its sponsors." Z. Lazarova (HZDS-Slovak Green Alternative) asked the opposition whether it wants the U.S. financier G. Soros to buy up "three-quarters of Slovakia" and accused it of "building capitalism." She expressed concern about the uncontrollable influx of foreign capital into Slovakia. J. Glinsky (Association of Workers of Slovakia) said that the "coupon method is antieconomic." [passage omitted] In his concluding statement, Privatization Minister P. Bisak said that the authority to establish shareholding companies, consider direct sales, hold public auctions, assess restitution claims, and liquidate enterprises will remain in his ministry. According to him, five years is sufficiently long to guarantee the value of the bonds. "It is hard to say at the moment what the real value of the bonds will be," added P. Bisak. [passage omitted]

Economy Minister on Privatization Law

LD1407161495 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0500 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The last from the package of economic laws passed by the National Council of the Slovak Republic yesterday was the government-proposed draft law on safeguarding state interests in the privatization of strategically important state-owned companies and joint-stock companies.

The person who often responded to criticism coming mainly from opposition deputies during the parliamentary debate was Economy Minister Jan Ducky, who submitted the draft law to parliament. Therefore, we asked him to briefly sum up his arguments in favor of the draft.

[Begin Ducky recording] The debate revealed the different views and interests that the process of privatization has brought about. [passage omitted]

Let me explain this. During the past few days, Law Amendment No. 92 [as heard] was criticized by many deputies for giving the National Property Fund [FNM] huge powers, which, they said, is not right from the political, ideological, and I do not know what else point of view. The law that was passed yesterday transfers a great part of the FNM's powers, mainly the execution of ownership rights, to founders of companies—or, rather, the law proposes this. Despite this, the deputies yet again strongly criticized the law.

On the other hand, I do not think this law talks about the nonprivatization of state-owned companies. It talks about the privatization of state-owned companies as well as companies in which the state has a stake. In such companies, the state wants to preserve its influence only in five areas of strategic decisionmaking, which are contained in Article 187 of the Commercial Law.

The idea of the authors of the law is that they will intervene if the owner of a company privatized in this way acted against the interests of the state—for instance, against the interests of our people who will take part in the privatization. I mean everyone in Slovakia. The founders will intervene if such owners wanted to divide a nice profit among themselves at the end of the financial year instead of thinking about the future and investing it in the company. In such case, the holder of ownership rights, in this case, the founder, will intervene and say no.

I think that a great part of the debate was overpoliticized. That is one thing. The other thing, the positive thing, is that there was great interest in the contents of this law.

I think that the government, which drafted and submitted the law, was doing its work responsibly. Some scolded us for putting too many companies on the list, others for putting too few companies there. Well, I think we have managed to reach a compromise in this respect. The list contains only companies and firms whose presence there we are able to explain. [passage omitted] [end recording] (endall) 140500 goodfellow/dp 14/1620

KOZ Protests to Government Over Higher Fares

AU1307171695 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 12 Jul 95 p 2

[Report by TASR: "Confederation of Trade Unions Does Not Rule Out Extreme Solutions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"The Confederation of Trade Unions [KOZ] of the Slovak Republic is ready

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to use its constitutional rights and resort to extreme solutions," KOZ President Alojz Englis said at the Slovak Government Office yesterday, shortly before he handed over to members of the Cabinet the text of the trade unionists' protest against the way in which the Slovak Government approved adjustments in [bus and railway] fares and in social reductions in mass public transport.

At its regular meeting yesterday, the government dealt with the text of the protest. The Cabinet issued a statement noting that the Government of the Slovak Republic had familiarized itself with the KOZ protest. An interdepartmental working group is already dealing with measures designed to compensate for the higher fares. On the basis of a comprehensive analysis and following consultations with the social partners, the Cabinet will assess possible further procedures.

"The Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] considers the situation in mass public transport to be an exceptionally serious problem. For this reason, it initially fundamentally opposed the adjustment in fares and the abolition of discounts for commuters," says Jan Luptak, deputy chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [and ZRS Chairman], in a statement. "After considering and realizing the critical economic situation in this sector, it finally agreed with the proposed adjustments, on the understanding that adequate and sufficient measures would simultaneously be adopted, lowering the negative impact of the adjustments on the socially weaker groups of the population," the statement continues. According to Luptak, the ZRS does not consider the proposed compensatory measures sufficient and rejects them out of principle.

[Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 12 July on pages 1 and 3 carries a 300-word report by "TASR, ad" on the KOZ protest statement, which is said to contain the following demands: an increase in the sum of "work-related expenditures" that can be deducted from taxable income to 1,000 korunas a month; the possibility for employers to include their employees' commuter fares in their costs; and an increase in employers' contributions to the "social fund" to 2.5 percent of the volume of wages and the obligation to use these funds to subsidize employees' travel bills.]

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Kovacs Opposes UN Withdrawal From Bosnia

LD1407202095 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs considers that the role of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] in Bosnia would become more valuable if the UN soldiers are withdrawn from Bosnia. As the chairman-in-office of the OSCE, the Hungarian foreign minister evaluated the organization's performance in the first six months and said that he will not agree with the peacekeepers' withdrawal.

According to the foreign minister, politicians often have unrealistic expectations from the operation of the OSCE and they often try to compare it's success to the unsuccessful crisis handling attempts of the United Nations, NATO, or the European Union.

[Begin Kovacs recording] The kind of disappointment, frustration, and disillusionment of the international organizations, resulting from their unsuccessful efforts, also affects the OSCE. But the OSCE did not really try to participate in the crisis handling for it had no opportunity for this. [end recording]

Laszlo Kovacs added as his personal opinion that he will not agree with the withdrawal of the UN peacekeepers.

PRC's Zemin Interviewed; Deng in 'Good Health'

LD1607193895 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 16 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] So far Hungarian traders have mostly been looking around on one of the world's largest and most rapidly developing market, although the Chinese market of 1.2 billion people is so attractive that even the champions of human rights remain quiet if the matter in question is about business. The change in the [political] system is not really a good explanation for our failure in the allocation of markets, for Russian-Chinese foreign trade exceeds the extent of Chinese trade with the former Soviet Union.

It is also certain that the Chinese are not averse to the expansion of relations. Just the contrary. Chinese President Jiang Zemin was accompanied by the country's trade minister on his European tour. They concluded business to the value of $3 billion in Germany.

The question of how successful the business talks were here can hardly be known because—let us be self-critical—Hungarian press coverage of the Chinese president's visit was undeservedly poor.

[Correspondent] Chinese President Jiang Zemin speaks seven languages and has visited a great part of the world, but he rarely travels abroad in his capacity as president. About a week ago he visited Hungary, for the first time. [passage omitted]

Before he summed up his experiences in Hungary, he met the Hungarian prime minister and also held talks with the speaker of the Hungarian National Assembly.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent, in English fading into Hungarian translation] Which are the fields where we have managed to make progress, and which are the most promising areas of cooperation in the long term?

[Jiang Zemin, in Mandarin with superimposed Hungarian translation] First and foremost, I have to stress that I evaluate my Hungarian visit as a complete success. During the days I spent here I have become deeply convinced that there are a lot of common features in our countries, in various aspects. Both countries pay great attention to the development of the economy in order to raise the people's standard of living. All this creates a healthy foundation for the development of our friendly cooperation, too.

During this visit we have examined opportunities for cooperation, for example, in the field of energy industry and vehicle manufacturing. I think we have good prospects for wide-ranging economic cooperation in various fields.

[Correspondent] However, there have been certain worries, for example regarding the Chinese colony which has been growing in numbers in Hungary. What kind of role could this community play in our bilateral ties, in your view?

[Jiang] I very much hope that Chinese people who live in Hungary will conduct their business activities in accordance with Hungarian laws and traditions, that is to say, they obey the law. If that is the case and if it remains like that, then in my view, Chinese people living here can play a very positive role in the development of bilateral economic cooperation.

[Correspondent] Let me now ask you about your own political role, because there is a lot of speculation in the country about a post-Deng Xiaoping China. You have said in the past that there is no war of succession in China and there are no internal battles inside the Beijing leadership. What is the truth?

[Jiang] If the western press were to be believed, our comrade Deng has died several times already. However, I can tell you that Comrade Deng enjoys good health even now. Of course, everybody dies eventually—and he is already 91 years old [word indistinct]. However, I am convinced that Comrade Deng Xiaoping has

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provided our generation with brilliant conditions for the continuation of his cause.

[Correspondent] Do you consider yourself to be the first among equals in this generation?

[Jiang] I am forced to ask you: Have you perhaps heard something or know something which may lead you to believe that I am not the first among equals?

[Correspondent] The jocular tone notwithstanding, my impression is that this is not the first time during these days that the general secretary has used this answer to escape from a tricky situation. At least number one, he says.

[Jiang] Well, seriously, I continue to be optimistic about the stability of our country. It is not my job to say whether I am the first among equals or not, nor whether this situation will last and if so, for how long. All this depends on the decision of the Chinese people and the organization of the Chinese Communist Party. The important thing is that I continue to be confident of the continuous economic development of China and that we continue to follow the path mapped out by our comrade, Deng Xiaoping. [end recording]

Official Comments on Romania, European Standards

LD1507214095 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1900 GMT 15 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Budapest cannot give way on the generally recognized European standards recently reasserted by the Council of Europe, Gabor Szentivanyi, Hungarian foreign affairs spokesman, said, speaking to Romanian radio.

[Correspondent Tibor Bogdan] Budapest hopes that Bucharest will incline towards compromise, he added. Incidentally, if in Romania they really have guaranteed the rights of the Hungarian minority at the level of European norms, then Bucharest has no reason to reject the suggestion that these norms should be also reflected in the basic treaty. The Hungarian side trusts in the positive results of [Foreign Minister] Laszlo Kovacs's discussions in Bucharest; otherwise this visit could not even have come about, said Szentivanyi.

In reply to a question about the introduction of visas, he said that no decision has yet been made in this connection. So, one cannot talk about an imminent danger regarding visas. For this reason, he did not wish to enter into speculations regarding possible countermeasures.

Kuncze on Visas, Deputy Prime Minister Post

LD1507214195 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1900 GMT 15 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The domestic political titbit of the past week was provided by the prime minister when he held out the prospect of the introduction of visas, and when he raised the idea of setting up the post of deputy prime minister. The idea is that the deputy prime minister will deal with economic issues. Our newsreel has asked Interior Minister Gabor Kuncze, coalition deputy prime minister, about the two matters:

[Begin Kuncze recording] It is worth weighing up two kinds of viewpoint very thoroughly: The economic and political ones. As far as the economic ones are concerned, here it is customary to mention the problems of the black economy, moonlighting, illegal commerce, the deterioration of public security. These problems exist. On the other hand, it is not customary to say that from these directions there are annually 12 to 15 million border crossings. The significant majority come to Hungary as tourists or visiting relatives; they spend money in our country. It is by no means certain that the damage caused by the black economy is greater than the advantages produced by tourism and the economic relations. In other words, it is not certain that this viewpoint justifies the introduction of visas.

With regard to the political viewpoints, we have to take into account our relations with the neighboring countries. These relations will not be helped by the introduction of visas. We must also take into account what effect such a measure will have on the Hungarians living beyond the borders. I think it will be extremely disadvantageous. [end recording]

Asked what his opinion is about the appointment of an economic deputy prime minister, the interior minister answered as follows:

[Begin Kuncze recording] The possible introduction of this post will not affect my tasks, or my scope of authority as laid down in the coalition agreement. In this sense I do not have to deal with this issue. Incidentally, I do not agree with the introduction of the post in itself, because all those functions that can be secured for an economic deputy prime minister can be dealt with also within the present government structure. In my opinion, there is no need for the introduction of a new level of leadership. I have to add that the prime minister has said he will raise this idea and this will be followed by the elaboration of the details, and then the debate of these details. So, we are now speaking about the matter theoretically. My opinion is that there is no need to introduce such a post. [end recording]

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Kuncze Comments on Domestic Economic Issues

AU1707115195 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Jul 95 pp 1, 9

[Interview with Gabor Kuncze, Hungarian coalition deputy prime minister and interior minister, by Attila Zsoldos; place and date not given: "It Is Impossible To Survive From Reducing the Costs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The negative social reception of the Bokros package did not pass by without a trace, and the postponement of some concrete decisions indicates that the government is becoming uncertain, Interior Minister Gabor Kuncze told NEPSZABADSAG. According to him, some of his fellow ministers now have doubts whether the correct economic policy is being followed. However, Kuncze believes that it is still possible to react to the economic processes; therefore, the government must bring concrete decisions by the end of July. Kuncze stated that the replacement of [Education Minister] Gabor Fodor is not on the agenda and the executive body of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] again voted confidence to Fodor a few weeks ago through majority voting.

[Zsoldos] What dilemmas have the Constitutional Court's decisions posed for the government?

[Kuncze] I would like to state it immediately that the Constitutional Court plays a very important role in the Hungarian legal system; therefore, I do not gladly criticize this body's recent decisions. No one has disputed the decisions—which indeed raise big dilemmas—in the government. When the government accepted the Bokros package, it acted in an emergency situation. It had to react quickly to the process of the budget balance and the foreign payment balance becoming upset, otherwise the country's solvency would have come into danger. The essence of the measures was to prevent the unavoidable burdens, which are concomitant with the economy's transformation, from falling on people who need support anyway, instead of those who are still able to bear the latest restrictive measures. The Constitutional Court's decisions made it clear that the government would not be able to implement the changes according to its original intentions and schedule.

[Zsoldos] What alternatives does the government have?

[Kuncze] The question is whether the unavoidable economic measures should hit everyone—for example, this effect would be achieved if the supplementary customs duty, certain types of taxes, energy prices, or social insurance contributions were raised—or we should seek budgetary items on the expenditure side that can be reduced to compensate for the effects of the Constitutional Court's decisions. It is also possible to mix the income increasing and expenditure reducing methods. It is another dilemma whether the government has to change its strategic ideas on the transformation of the welfare systems. As the budget can no longer be financed in its current form, after the Constitutional Court's decisions, there is no other chance but to continue the reform of state administration. In my view, this is the only way to achieve the planned savings.

The Constitutional Court's decision on the personal identification numbers is one of the most problematic ones because, according to current calculations, its implementation would cost a total of 15 billion forints in 1995 and 1996. In addition, it is very likely that it is impossible to switch over to a new system from 1 January 1996. It is possible to set up a unified public administration records system from the current numbers. Europe is also moving in a similar direction in this area; therefore, it is a big question whether we can change our records systems so drastically which would cause a significant setback compared to the current conditions.

[Zsoldos] This has been decided.

[Kuncze] It has, however, we must find a solution that conforms to the Constitutional Court's decision but, at the same time, does not destroy our functioning records system. The Constitutional Court's decision is mainly based on the protection of human rights. Bearing this in mind, the possibility of data linkage must be excluded in some way where this is justified. For example, if we stopped the registration system of persons, data, and addresses, we would not be able to prepare an electoral list for a referendum within two days. I can also mention another example. Everyone has to keep his personal tax returns for five years. According to the legal regulations in force, the tax office keeps records of this on the basis of personal identity numbers. Therefore, the tax office will have to continue to use the identity numbers for another five years even if we introduce a new registration system. The Constitutional Court's decision on this issue raises many problems that might not be possible to be solved by 1 January 1996.

Two Kinds of Ideas

[Zsoldos] The government has recently postponed two concrete decisions, one in connection with the 1996 budget guidelines and the other in connection with the package designed to compensate for the losses caused by the Constitutional Court's decisions. What is in the background of the delay?

[Kuncze] Whatever kind of government had come to power in 1994, it would have had to deal with stabilization measures. The processes that began in 1992, have caused serious balance problems in the

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economy. In 1993, the foreign payment deficit exceeded $3 billion, and as much as $4 billion 1994, while the budget deficit was also very high in these years. The negative processes continued in the second half of 1994 and the first half of 1995. We could not delay the quick and drastic measures anymore. For me, it is perfectly understandable that society was not happy about these measures, and this is what I had expected. If the government had put more effort into explaining the measures, in my view, it could have gained people's support.

[Zsoldos] Things did not turn out this way.

[Kuncze] I repeatedly did so, but I would again like to stress that the government is responsible for failing to do its utmost in justifying the decisions. The unfavorable reaction of the society had its impact on the government. The fact that some of the hastily formulated decisions were not fully justified might have also contributed to the government's uncertainty. This uncertainty can also be reflected by the fact that, until precise data come in on the effects of the measures so far and the six month economic processes, the government refrained from taking some concrete decisions. However, these decisions cannot be delayed too long. Irrespective of whether the measures are popular or not, the government must accept responsibility for them. A decision can be delayed for one week or two, but the budget and economic situation will not change as a result.

[Zsoldos] In you view, how much more can we wait? What is the critical deadline?

[Kuncze] The government will have to come up with concrete decisions at the end of July, because this is the condition for next year's budget to be submitted to Parliament in time. We are now living the days in which it is still possible to react to the economic processes. The longer we delay the decisions, the more difficult the development will be.

[Zsoldos] I already heard this argument from SZDSZ politicians at the time of [former Finance Minister] Laszlo Bekesi's resignation.

[Kuncze] There are two kinds of economic policy concepts. The essence of the one the government has started is that expenses should be reduced by restructuring the budget elements, and the resulting surplus should be used to promote economic growth. Opposing this, the other economic policy concept says that an increase in demand should be promoted by all means, because this way we can achieve an economic growth that provides surplus sources for solving budget problems. This road has not yet been tried out in Hungary because the risk of failure is too big: The budget could collapse before the assertion of favorable effects. However, some government members have doubts on whether we are advancing on the right road. They ask whether we should nevertheless try out the demand-increasing economic policy.

[Zsoldos] What are the effects of the failure to receive international financial aid expected for Hungary's modernization on the government's economic policy efforts? From this point of view, what is your opinion about the prime minister's critical observations regarding the IMF?

[Kuncze] If the government carries out its own program successfully, we will be able to sign an agreement with the IMF. If such an agreement is signed, it will be easier to receive cheaper credits and world bank credits that can be used for economic restructuring, and other very important sources. The IMF raises such tough demands toward us because, in the past, Hungary failed to fulfill its obligations. I stress, however, that these measures are necessary not for the sake of the IMF, but because we are unable to finance the functioning and restructuring of the Hungarian economy. Therefore, I think we must argue with the IMF at the negotiating table, rather than in public.

[Zsoldos] What breakthrough points do you see? What areas should enjoy priority?

[Kuncze] A debate took place between the SZDSZ and the finance minister in recent weeks, a debate that was also carried by the press. According to the SZDSZ, the measures aimed at reducing the budget expenses and restructuring the distribution systems cannot be avoided. Parts of the funds saved this way should be used to accelerate the state administration reform and to strengthen the elements of the economic growth that can be maintained. In our view, if the parts of the funds saved this way are used for the above goals, the budget deficit can even be bigger than originally planned, because one cannot make a long-term living out of a drastic reduction of expenses. Only a well-founded economic growth can guarantee a way out of the current situation.

Many Small Packages

[Zsoldos] What is the reason for the difference in the opinion of the finance minister and that of the SZDSZ?

[Kuncze] The finance minister agrees with the principles but, in his view, budget deficit related to the GDP must not exceed 3-3.5 percent, and he would adjust the necessary measures to this. If we wanted to bring the views of the SZDSZ and of the finance minister to a common denominator, we would have to take even

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more drastic measures regarding the budget expenses. However, the SZDSZ does not see any possibility for this at present.

[Zsoldos] Do you think the criticism is justified according to which the government still has to present a future image to the people?

[Kuncze] We can outline trends that lead into the foggy future and have a very good sound. However, on the short term, we can only responsibly promise that the budget and economic situation can be stabilized this year and the next. This can be the basis of long-term economic growth. It is impossible to present a popular future image for one or two years ahead. In my view, until 1988, the economy can only reach a level in which it no longer requires further drastic measures. Of course, this is problematic because, for 10 years, the people have been told to bear this one year more. The previous governments also decided to take certain measures, but these measures never created the basis of real restructuring. Unfortunately, we also must say that people should bear a little more for the positive economic processes to really start this time.

[Zoldos] What must they bear? The Constitutional Court eliminated important elements of the Bokros package. What can we expect now?

[Kuncze] Well, the problem with the current situation is that, after the 12 March measures, one could notice that people in many areas were thinking about what could be done. A lot of people began making their own small Bokros package, and this was noticeable in individual life strategies, the strategies of certain local governments, and in the case of various distribution systems. Although it says something else, many people interpreted the decision of the Constitutional Court by calming themselves and saying that, well, no one can touch their lives, the standard of living they are accustomed to, or their distribution systems. This is a wishful thinking. The government has no other choice but to continue to advance on the road it has chosen. We must accept the fact that everyone has to bear the burden of restructuring the large distribution systems. Many people will enjoy less support than they are accustomed to, while the people really in need will continue to receive the basic allocations. We must also acknowledge the fact that the transition period we have been talking about for years is still on. This can have very unpleasant effects on individuals, and they might have to build up a new life strategy, but the government must nevertheless take the measures aimed at bringing about economic stability and well-founded economic growth.

[Zsoldos] A serious political decision of the ruling parties is which social strata should bear the burdens of restructuring. What are the government's possibilities in this respect?

[Kuncze] There are measures that automatically increase inflation, and this affects everyone. However, in the case of people who really fall down the hill, we must strengthen their social support, as the government did in the supplementary budget, because these people do not have the possibility to avoid the negative effects. These measures affect some middle strata people more than the average, because they lose certain allocations. Of course, we can argue on where to draw the line under which one is still regarded as a person in need, and above all which one is no longer regarded as such. Although these measures affect the higher 5 percent of society, they have many possibilities to defend themselves against the unpleasant effects. However, in my view, the idea that the high income of these people should be reduced by means of very high taxes and, thus, obtain considerable surplus income for the budget is an illusion. Such measures lead to an increase in the black economy and in hidden incomes, and they suggest that income should be spent because the state will take it away anyway. They already tried this in Sweden and this was the result. It is not true that the Bokros package spares the well-to-do people. However, if we put exaggerated burdens on these strata of the society, this would bring more disadvantages than profits to the budget.

There Are Things To Improve

[Zsoldos] Reviewing the one year that has passed, what would you change basically in the activity of the government?

[Kuncze] I would change the following: The government leaves a very limited time framework for decisions. One has the feeling that the government is in a constant state of stress. There is no time to thoroughly consider certain issues. We must change this. We must give sufficient time for the ministries to prepare their proposals, for public administration to coordinate the positions, and for government party groups in Parliament to give their opinions. The government can only take well-founded decisions after such preparations. This would also have political benefits, because the government would provide much less reason for criticism. The other important thing is that, once a decision situation emerges on a given issue, the government should make that decision, because any delay causes damage. For example, if the decisions on privatization had been made in September 1994 and if Parliament had adopted the law in the autumn of last year, the budget deficit would have been smaller today. The third view-

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point is that the government must really improve its way of contact with the society.

[Zsoldos] According to opinion polls, the government is in really serious trouble in this respect.

[Kuncze] The opinion polls indeed reflect this and, naturally, this is not the public's fault.

[Zsoldos] Speaking about the SZDSZ, is it true that, along with the firing of Laszlo Pal, the prime minister also proposed to replace Gabor Fodor?

[Kuncze] The prime minister occasionally criticizes the activity of various inistries, and this is what happened in the case of the Education Ministry. This is also partly the reason why the SZDSZ executive body put this issue on its agenda and came up with a majority vote in favor of having confidence in Education Minister Gabor Fodor. It is well known that the prime minister and Gabor Fodor agreed recently on the principles of the Education Ministry activity. Obviously, the ministry will have to fulfill these principles in the future. Replacing Gabor Fodor is not on the agenda of the cabinet today.

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France's Millon on Withdrawal of UN Peacekeepers

LD1507102895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1018 GMT 15 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 15 (TANJUG)—French Defense Minister Charles Millon has said that, within the next ten days, France may start considering the possibility of withdrawing its UN peacekeepers from Bosnia, warning at the same time that a UN force pullout would be disastrous for Bosnia.

Millon said, in the Bosnian Croat-controlled town of Tomislavgrad in western Herzegovina late Friday, that France would consider this possibility if other countries, primarily the United States, Great Britain, and Germany, failed to respond to French President Jacques Chirac's call for a military intervention aimed at restoring the status of a UN-designated safe area to Srebrenica, the AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE (AFP) news agency reported.

Bosnian Serb troops entered Srebrenica on Tuesday explaining that they had to do so because Bosnian Muslims were using this enclave, which should have been demilitarized as a UN-designated safe area since 1993, for launching constant terrorist operations that killed 30 Serb civilians in the past 45 days alone.

Millon on Friday arrived in Tomislavgrad where a 3,700-strong multinational brigade is deployed (comprising 2,000 French, 1,500 British, and 200 Dutch troops). This is one of the three Rapid Reaction Force brigades which is currently the only operative formation in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

French Ambassador to Croatia Jean-Jacques Gaillard has said that French President Chirac is ready to use all the necessary resources to restore the safe area status to Srebrenica but upon agreement with the United Nations and other UN member-countries.

Gaillard told the Croatian Television on Friday that consultations on organizing such an operation were underway. He said world politicians had not yet given their final response to the French proposal.

Government Ends Contacts With Akashi, Stoltenberg

AU1407190295 Paris AFP in English 1825 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] United Nations, July 14 (AFP)—The Bosnian Government will no longer work with two key UN mediators and has ordered its troops to defend the enclaves of Zepa and Gorazde at any cost, the Bosnian representative at the UN said Friday [14 July].

Ivan Misic, the charge d'affaires for the Bosnian mission at the United Nations, said the Bosnian presidency has decided to cut off communication with Thorvald Stoltenberg and Yasushi Akashi, the two main UN mediators.

Misic said the decision did not mean the Bosnian Government was breaking off cooperation with the United Nations and stressed that it applied only to Stoltenberg and Akashi.

The Bosnian Government has on several occasions accused UN officials, notably Akashi, of incompetence and of indirectly helping the Bosnian Serbs by failing to take action when necessary.

Misic also said that the Bosnian presidency had ordered Bosnian Moslem forces to defend the east Bosnian enclaves of Zepa and Gorazde "at any cost."

Both areas, designated UN "safe areas," are under threat of being captured by Serb forces who on Tuesday drove UN peacekeepers out of another safe area at Srebrenica before taking control of it, unleashing a flood of refugees.

Izetbegovic Asks Chirac To Call for Action

AU1407191995 Paris AFP in English 1834 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 14 (AFP)—Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic on Friday [14 July] wrote to his French counterpart Jacques Chirac, appealing to him to continue his calls for tougher Western action on the Bosnian crisis. "I'm writing to you because of your recent statement on the role of the UN forces in Bosnia and the need to stop the deterioration of events" Izetbegovic said. "I appeal to the great Western democracies to pull themselves together and impose the respect for human rights and international law," Chirac told a press conference, nationally televised to mark the French national Bastille Day holiday, Friday.

Chirac on Thursday called on the United States and Britain to join it in preventing other UN-declared safe areas in Bosnia from suffering the fate suffered by Srebrenica, captured by Bosnian Serbs Tuesday. "If nobody wants to commit themselves to retaking the Srebrenica security zone, we should at least guarantee the security of the Gorazde security area where British peacekeepers are based," he told Friday's press conference. "But it should be properly defended."

In his letter to the French leader, Izetbgovic said: "Your statements were praised (here) with the hope that the international community will finally meet its obligations

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in Bosnia." Izetbegovic asked that UN Security Council resolutions be applied. He said that France, which is one of the five permanent members of the United Nations, "has its rights and special obligations regarding this. It is time for Serbia and the Serbs to stop dictating Europe's policies."

Silajdzic Calls Srebrenica UN 'Betrayal'

LD1607215595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 16 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina met in an emergency session in Sarajevo this afternoon to discuss the situation arising from the aggressor's attacks on the UN safe zone, Srebrenica and Zepa, and the humanitarian situation in Sarajevo. We have a report from Jadranko Katan:

[Katan] The session was chaired by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic and reports on fresh attacks by the aggressor on Zepa throughout the day, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] duties regarding the safe zones, and the issue of housing and feeding Srebrenica refugees were submitted by relevant ministers or their deputies.

Attacks on Zepa and shelling, in particular, were stepped up today. Despite the vehemence of the attacks, the defenders have been resisting them all. [passage omitted]

Minister Hasanmuratovic, the chairman of the committee for cooperation with UNPROFOR, said that his impression was that there are people within UNPROFOR who were concealing the real situation and were not carrying their duties. Yesterday he wrote to General Smith, head of UN forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, insisting that his forces should carry out all their obligations. But he has still had no answer. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Following the emergency government session, Prime Minister Silajdzic gave a statement Jadranko Katan, Bosnia-Herzegovina radio and TV journalist:

[Begin recording] [Silajdzic] I think that it is necessary to say and stress that the commander of the UNPROFOR battalion in Zepa has already on three occasions requested NATO air support. We asked them here in Sarajevo if they knew why, but they said they did not know. This is very strange. This time we shall try to find out precisely where or who is thwarting the requests for air intervention. Unfortunately, this is so. To sum up: air support has already been requested three times and in Sarajevo they say they know nothing about it. On the other hand, the situation in Zepa is unchanged, in other words, the Chetniks are attacking [words indistinct]

[Katan] [Question indistinct]

[Silajdzic] The major part of the task has already been carried out, of course, a large number of people are involved, not just by the government but also by local authorities and individuals who have been very helpful. A large number of people have already been accommodated in the best possible way. I must say that foreign institutions have also been involved in this. A meeting was held in Tuzla between our minister and the Dutch reconstruction minister. He brought with him the news that the Netherlands will give five million dollars to Srebrenica. One million will be immediately paid in [word indistinct], an account for Srebrenica will be opened at the Finance Ministry, or rather, with the antional bank, especially for Srebrenica. I hope there will be more payments.

The humanitarian situation in Sarajevo, especially when it comes to food is, as you know, difficult. We have decided to set apart some of the reserves we have for a one-time distribution of humanitarian aid which should begin on Friday.

[Katan] [Words indistinct] Srebrenica, the lesson of Zepa [word indistinct]. At the government session today it was said that certain Western circles are allowing all this to happen in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that they have given the so-called Pale regime a certain time limit in which to finish off this [words indistinct]. Can you comment on this behavior by the international community?

[Silajdzic] Well, I have already commented. There is no need to comment again. I wish to say again that this is an act of betrayal by the United Nations, by some circles and some officials in the United Nations, otherwise Srebrenica would never have happened. I am quite sure. On the other hand, there are some positive developments: many humanitarian organizations have responded to our appeal for humanitarian aid. At the government session we tried to (?list the names) of these organizations and that is good. We wish to thank them in this way. I have already obtained the names of some organizations which responded yesterday and today. [passage omitted]

We would like to thank them in this way. There has been a good response, but there are almost 24,000 people who need to be accommodated, plus the fresh waves that are still coming, so we will need more help. [passage omitted] [end recording]

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'Impossible To Remain Neutral'

BR1707080595 Paris LE VIF/L'EXPRESS in French 14 Jul 95 p 43

[Interview with Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Sylvaine Pasquier; place and date not given: "Dying in Silence?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The tension has reached its peak in Bosnia, where the Serbs, after a violent offensive, attacked Srebrenica, one of the UN "safe areas." In the middle of the week they were still holding hostage some 30 Netherlands Blue Helmets. UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] may have waited for this new deliberate act of aggression to ask NATO for extremely limited air strikes against the Serbs. Is this the final crisis that will precede the withdrawal or escalation toward confrontation? Against this dramatic backdrop Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic wants the international community to face up to its responsibilities.

[Pasquier] If UNPROFOR abandons its "safe areas" would its mission still make any sense?

[Silajdzic] When you tie someone's hands without protecting him you are effectively becoming an accomplice in murder. For three years now genocide has been going on in Bosnia without anyone doing anything to stop it. As long as people let the war criminals in Pale act with full impunity they will carry on. They will kill civilians, they will take hostages, and they will undoubtedly go even further, because force pays off. This is the only logic they understand. Someone must stop them. If the United Nations is not able to do so, then it is up to us to provide our own defense in the "safe areas" and elsewhere. I can easily understand nobody wanting to get involved in this war that has been imposed on us. But it is inconceivable that we should be denied the right to defend ourselves. According to the UN Charter that is a right which nothing should hinder. Under these conditions, the only way out is to lie down and die in silence. Without bothering anyone. And we are not prepared to do that!

[Pasquier] Does the deployment of the Rapid Reaction Force risk bothering the Bosnian Army?

[Silajdzic] That is not how we see things. It may well be that it will sometimes interfere in our defensive operations around Sarajevo, but in that case all we have to do is stagger our movements. The major aim of our forces is to prevent a massive military attack against the city because the Serbs are preparing for that. While awaiting the definition of its mandate the RRF, which is arriving quite late and not very rapidly, has no other mission but to protect the Blue Helmets, who are already dug into their bunkers. Whatever the case may be, if this force remains in Bosnia and if our towns continue to be subjected to a siege out of the Middle Ages, then we may well wonder what good it serves. I can understand it if the United Nations wants to stay neutral. But today it is impossible to remain neutral. That is an indefensible position, logically, morally, and legally.

[Pasquier] What do you expect from European mediator Carl Bildt?

[Silajdzic] Why should he succeed where the Contact Group failed? There is a peace plan. It was presented to us a year ago. At that time, it was a matter of take it or leave it. Under those conditions we accepted it. The Serbs in Pale rejected it. Then the Contact Group changed its language and the plan became simply a sort of common foundation. It has got to be one or the other: Either we stick with the commitments we made, and we make the Serbs see reason—it is not up to us to go negotiate with them; or we acknowledge that the plan is null and void! Here I am coming to some basic problems. There will be no solution in Bosnia as long as the concept of "containment" prevails. Containment does not mean settlement. This is only a way of pushing back the timetable. Today, containment, along with its components, namely the status quo and the arms embargo, is working to the benefit of the Serb aggressors and against the Bosnian Government, which is the only legitimate power in the country. Not only has it survived, but it currently presents a defense capacity that has to be taken into account. We have a right to our borders. They have been recognized internationally. If we need 50 years to take them back, as was the case with the Baltic states, then we will hold out for 50 years! In the meantime, Karadzic and his militias are taking advantage of the situation. They have found the "right pace" for killing, 10 or 12 victims a day in Sarajevo, which enables them to carry on without causing the slightest reaction internationally. This calculation does not seem to make sense, but it is in fact diabolically intelligent.

[Pasquier] Is it a mistake to count on Milosevic to stop them?

[Silajdzic] If the Europeans refuse to use force, then they will definitely have to talk with the one who is the strongest. However, this public genocide, which is unfolding before the television cameras, is creating deep wounds of which he have yet to become aware: Europe has already lost its self-respect, its self-confidence, and its credibility. Yet there is still time to react. Otherwise, why would several countries still risk the lives of their soldiers on the ground? Those who have fallen in Bosnia are a greater testimony, in our eyes, than the resolutions, the conferences, and the entire edifice of the United

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Nations. Today, the urgent thing is to open up an access route to Sarajevo, impose the exclusion of heavy arms, and to put an end to the siege. Too much is too much.

Calls For Lifting of Embargo

MS1707080895 London BBC Television Network in English 0715 GMT 16 Jul 95

[Interview with Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by David Frost, Silajdzic in Sarajevo, Frost in the London Studio; from the "Breakfast With Frost" program—live]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Frost] We are joined by the Bosnian Prime Minister himself, Haris Silajdzic. Prime minister good morning.

[Silajdzic] Good morning to you Mr. Frost.

[Frost] Very good to hear you, were you able to hear what Tom Carver [BBC correspondent in Sarajevo] was just saying?

[Silajdzic] Well, yes of course, unfortunately yes.

[Frost] Yes, I mean what is your comment on what we were hearing about where the missing people are, and the fact that there was some use of the safe havens for military purposes by the Bosnian Muslims?

[Silajdzic] Well, we use the of name Bosniak, and the Muslim is a religious denomination, but still we know that the road from Srebrenica to Tuzla is strewn with dead, naked, stabbed bodies, this is for sure. How many we do not know, hundreds for sure, may be thousands we do not know. But may I use this opportunity, Mr. Frost, to try and add something that your people here from the Parliament, and we watch here the proceedings of the British Parliament....

[Frost, interrupting] Right.

[Silajdzic] And that they always, they always talk about the negotiated settlement and that the two sides should be brought to the negotiating table. Well this is the truth but not the whole truth, and the whole truth is that the international community of five countries, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Russia propose the peace plan one year ago exactly in Geneva, and they said this is the plan and this is take it or leave it so it is unconditional, and they said if the Serbs do not take it then there will be more intensified sanctions on Serbia, and at the last resort the arms embargo against Bosnia would be lifted. Now the government, the Bosnian Government, we took the plan although it is was clearly rewarding, clearly rewarding the genocide and aggression. Now the Serbs did not take it and you know what happened, instead of intensifying sanctions there is no suspensions of sanctions on Serbia and there is no lifting of the arms embargo at the last resort. Now what we lost here is not only thousands of lives, it is the chance of peace because the credibility is totally lost. The United Nations is to blame because they did not call the UN NATO airplanes in time; they asked for NATO intervention only when the Serbs entered Srebrenica. Now how can we trust that organization any more, how can we try and succeed in any peace negotiations if the contact group itself the five countries have lost the credibility by negating what they said one year ago?

[Frost] Right in that context, therefore, prime minister, what would you like the West, either today or on Friday, what do you think the West should do?

[Silajdzic] Now let us remember that the arms embargo up in our country lasts for three, even more years, even four years now. During the last three years a great advantage has been given to the aggressor. They committed genocide and they took the land because we could not defend ourselves, because we could not buy arms. At the same time they have all the time in the world and the stocks of the former Yugoslavia national army including tanks, helicopters, airplanes, and everything. On the other hand they had a defenseless population, so now, for three years now, we have been killed and shelled because we could not defend ourselves. So what we would like now, we would like now the international community especially those who impose the arms embargo upon defenseless population, is to arm this population and to protect it from the air. That is a debt, and that is the least they can do to correct the horrendous mistakes they have committed toward those children you see now, they call it ethnic cleansing, that is a new term for genocide, genocide is the right term...

[Frost, interrupting] Well thank you very...

[Silajdzic, interrupting] Excuse me, those cleansed in Srebrenica are 70 per ent children, for God's sake, at the end of the twentieth century! What we hear from the so-called civilized circles you know is that we cannot give them the arms because the war would go—you know would spread out of Bosnia so the Bosnians can be killed, because we do not want that to spread out of Bosnia. Is that not immoral Mr. Frost?

[Frost] Well, it's a powerful, powerful plea that you've given us this morning prime minister, and we thank you very much indeed.

[Silajdzic] Thank you.

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Says Serbia Directly Involved

LD1707103995 Kuwait Radio Kuwait in Arabic 1000 GMT 17 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic today accused the Republic of Serbia of directly taking part in the aggression launched by the Bosnian Serbs on the Muslim pockets that the UN pronounced a safe area.

In a statement to Kuna, Sliadjzic called on the European Rapid Reaction Force, which started deployment in Bosnia, to defend the Muslim pockets that were subjected to fierce Serb attacks.

Silajdzic once again demanded the lifting of the arms embargo off the Bosnian Muslims to enable them to exercise their legitimate right in defending themselves.

Karadzic, Buha Meet Churkin on Renewing Talks

LD1507073595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0006 GMT 15 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 15 Jul (SRNA)—Leaders of the Serb Republic [RS] with President Radovan Karadzic at the head last night met with Vitaliy Churkin, special envoy of the Russian president, to discuss the possible ways of renewing peace negotiations on former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"Initial impulses and atmosphere for renewing the peace process exist," said the RS Foreign Affairs Minister Aleksa Buha, adding that for the RS, the most important issue is to ensure that all three sides in the conflict are treated on equal terms.

Among other things, the RS leaders told the Russian envoy about their dissatisfaction with the fact that Carl Bildt, one of the cochairmen of the peace conference on former Yugoslavia, has not yet contacted RS representatives.

Churkin confirmed that a whole series of issues relating to the situation in former Bosnia-Herzegovina was discussed at the meeting. "One of the concrete results of the talks is the guarantee that all Dutch UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] troops currently in the area of Srebrenica will soon be allowed to leave the area," Churkin said.

Dutch Peacekeepers Allowed To Leave

AU1607132395 Paris AFP in English 1124 GMT 16 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, July 16 (AFP)—All Dutch UN peacekeepers still in the Bosnian enclave of Srebrenica are being allowed to leave with their arms and equipment by the victorious Bosnian Serbs, Defence Minister Joris Voorhoeve said Sunday [16 July]. His statement came as 55 Dutch peacekeepers arrived in Zagreb after their Bosnian Serb captors released them Saturday. They had arrived in the Yugoslav town of Novi Sad late Saturday where they spent the night before leaving for Belgrade Sunday and then flying to Zagreb on board a UN plane.

Journalists were prevented from speaking to the men after the plane landed, but a UN spokesman in Zagreb said they would spend the day at the Pleso military base. Thirty-eight of the Dutch troops were captured when the Serbs seized Srebrenica Tuesday, and 17 more were taken later when they were forced to abandon their observation posts in the area. A further nine who surrendered in similar circumstances Saturday were to be taken back to Potocari in the north of the enclave, Dutch army commander General Henri Couzy said earlier.

Meanwhile, all 318 Dutch soldiers remaining in their camp at Potocari will have left the enclave by the end of this week, Voorhoeve said. He also said that the commander of the battalion, Lieutenant-Colonel Tom Karremans, had persuaded Bosnian Serb military chief General Ratko Mladic to allow the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) access to wounded Moslem males in Srebenica.

Aid workers and UN officials have expressed fears about thousands of Moslem men of military age who were taken to an unknown destination by the Serbs after the enclave was captured Tuesday. Some 15,000 Moslem women and children were rounded up in a 48-hour operation of "ethnic cleansing" supervised by Mladic, bussed out of Srebrenica and left to find their way to safety in Tuzla.

Voorhoeve did not say how the Dutch would be brought out of Srebrenica.

Since Srebrenica fell Karremans had been negotiating with Mladic to free the detained UN peacekeepers and allow the remaining 318 still in the camp to leave the enclave with their arms and equipment. The Dutch had also been refusing to leave Potocari until their colleagues were freed and the refugees given shelter in the camp allowed to leave for other Moslem-held areas.

Voorhoeve said Friday that 59 injured civilians remained and would have to be brought out by special transport. He also said 12 Dutch vehicles had got through with food, fuel, and medical supplies for the Potocari base.

He added, however, that Mladic was making no concessions and "in any case he has not kept his promises." He said it was important for the Dutch to be allowed to

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leave with their arms and equipment, and especially the white UN vehicles which the Serbs could use against Bosnian Government forces.

Another group of 20 UN peacekeepers from the Potocari camp arrived in Croatia late Saturday. They had left for Zagreb earlier but lost part of their equipment when they were attacked by thieves en route. Nine more Dutch peacekeepers, freed by the Bosnian Serbs, arrived in the Dutch camp of Potocari, north of Srebrenica, Sunday, Dutch Defence Ministry spokesman Lars Poppes announced. They had surrendered after their 55 counterparts were taken captive by Bosnian Serbs who seized the Moslem enclave Tuesday, but were released Saturday along with the others.

Netherlands Confirms Release

AU1507204295 Paris AFP in English
2025 GMT 15 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, July 15 (AFP)—All Dutch UN peacekeepers held by Bosnian Serb forces in Srebrenica have been freed, General Henri Couzy, the ground forces commander, said Saturday [15 July] on Dutch television.

The Serbs promised to take the peacekeepers to the Dutch Battalion's camp in Potocari, in the north of the Srebrenica enclave.

The Dutch Defence Ministry had said earlier Saturday that 55 Dutch UN peacekeepers have been freed by their Bosnian Serb captors.

The released peacekeepers had reportedly included 38 who had been detained by the Bosnian Serbs in Bratunac, north of Srebrenica, and 17 held in Simivci in the west of the Srebrenica enclave.

UN spokesman Rida Ettarashany had reported 54 peacekeepers being released out of a total of 64, the other 10 being held in a police station in Milici.

Later another nine were reported detained.

French Retaliate After Serbs Target Aid Convoy

AU1407194495 Paris AFP in English
1935 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 14 (AFP)—French UN peacekeepers late Friday [14 July] fired around 40 rounds of artillery fire against Bosnian Serb artillery positions after the Serbs targeted a UN convoy on a supply route into the city, a UN spokesman said.

Two Belgian peacekeepers, who were in one of trucks delivering flour to the Bosnian capital on the Mount Igman road, were slightly injured, Lieutenant Colonel Gerard Dubois said.

EU Official on Need To Defend Sarajevo Routes

LD1607112195 Berlin DDP/ADN in German
0910 GMT 16 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Cologne (DDP/ADN)—Hans Koschnick, the EU administrator of Mostar, considers that there is a need to defend the supply routes to Sarajevo militarily. Without "such open supply routes for the population it will soon make no sense to maintain UN troops there," Koschnick said on Deutschlandfunk on Sunday.

Koschnick believes that the safe zone of Srebrenica, now taken by the Bosnian Serbs, has been lost irrevocably. In contrast he believes that Sarajevo and Gorazde could be saved providing the Rapid Reaction Force arrives soon.

In view of the latest escalation in Bosnia the EU administrator thinks that fighting around Mostar could flare up again. However, the present danger is not fighting between Muslims and Croats but possible attacks by the Serbs who are a mere 3 km outside the town.

Evacuation of Srebrencia Civilians Continues; Aid

UNHCR: Serbs Holding Men

AU1407123095 Paris AFP in English
1215 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, July 14 (AFP)—Between 700 and 3,000 Moslem men driven from the eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica by Bosnian Serbs are gathered in a football stadium at nearby Bratunac, the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said Friday. "The number we have heard yesterday is in a hundreds, there are some Bosnian Serb officials who are accompanying some convoys and I assume that they are passing some of this infomation to us, it's not first-hand eyewitness account from UNHCR," UNHCR spokesman Ron Redmond said. "We have heard from 700 to as many as 3,000 men being held prisoner," Redmond said. "We have reports from families that very young boys, 12 years old, have also been taken."

Tens of thousands of Bosnian Moslems fled when Serb forces overran the former UN safe haven. The Serbs said Friday they had completed their programme of trucking the refugees west into Bosnian-held territory, but Dutch peacekeepers who also fled the Serb onslaught said the evacuation was still proceeding Friday. Similar waves of ethnic cleansing in the first year of the Bosnian war in 1992 resulted in thousands of Moslem men being detained in desperate conditions in camps in central Bosnia.

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Bildt: Need To Register Missing

LD1607162195 Stockholm Sveriges Radio Network in Swedish 1445 GMT 16 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The EU mediator, Carl Bildt, now hopes that it will be possible to find out what has happened to the boys and men taken away by the Bosnian Serbs when Muslim Srebrenica fell. During the ongoing talks in Belgrade with the Serb president, Bildt has received promises that the International Red Cross will be given free access to the camps set up after the fall of Srebrenica.

[Begin recording] [Bildt] The Red Cross will be given the opportunity, and I hope it will happen as soon as conceivably possible, to enter and meet with them, talk to them, and register them. It is extremely important for us to know how many they are, who they are, who is there, and who may be missing. It is only when we get a grasp of this, that we can get a grasp of what has actually happened. It is extremely important.

[Correspondent Christina Gustafsson] Regarding the situation in the remaining Muslim enclaves in northern Bosnia, Carl Bildt is very cautious in his views of what may happen there. Carl Bildt is critical of the French demands on the other allies to be tough on the Bosnian Serbs, and retaking Srebrenica is an unrealistic demand in his view, considering how the UN troops are equipped.

[Bildt] If that is to be done, it requires a force equivalent to two mechanized, two armored divisions to be taken to the area. Moreover, were that to be done, the first force which the United Nations has at its disposal for entry there, is, from the geographical view, the Nordic, Swedish battalion which in no way is either equipped, trained, or suited for that type of offensive warfare. So, sometimes it is a good thing if there is an element of afterthought in political statements, too. It is perhaps a good thing if the thought comes before the statement instead of after, but in the worst instance, one has to take the thought after speaking.

[Gustafsson] The negotiations here in Belgrade during the weekend have largely dealt with practical matters. No major successes regarding Serbian recognition of Bosnia have been observed this far away from President Milosevic's side.

After the large stream of refugees from Srebrenica reached the Tuzla enclave, Carl Bildt was forced to put pressure there on the Bosnian Government so that the thousands of refugees could be moved from the airport to more humane conditions. It was only after contacts with Bosnian President Izetbegovic that a change was achieved, Carl Bildt says. This is Christina Gustafsson in Belgrade. [end recording]

Dutch Soldier Describes Atrocities

AU1707124795 Paris AFP in English 1233 GMT 17 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, July 17 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs who seized the eastern Bosnian enclave of Srebrenica are committing atrocities including "murder and mutilation" in the UN-declared safe area, a Dutch UN peacekeeper who was stationed in the enclave said Monday [17 July].

Speaking anonymously, he told the daily Dutch ALGEMEEN DAGBLAD newspaper that the "hunting season was in full swing. It's not only men supposedly belonging to the Bosnian Government Army who are targeted," he said. "Women, including pregnant ones, children, and old people aren't spared. Some are shot and wounded, others have had their ears cut off and some women have been raped."

Dutch soldiers have been asked by their superiors to refrain from giving accounts of Bosnian Serb atrocities, for fear it may compromise this week's departure of the Dutch peacekeepers based at Potocari, north of Srebrenica. The Serbs have assured the UN soldiers they can leave the area with all their arms and equipment.

Meanwhile, 75 Dutch soldiers were due back in the Netherlands Monday, including 55 who were captured by the Bosnian Serbs when they pushed aside the UN troops on Tuesday and took control of Srebrenica. The peacekeepers were eventually released Saturday.

Executing Men 'on the Spot'

AU1407144495 Paris AFP in English 1434 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 14 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces are executing men they took prisoner after capturing the government enclave of Srebrenica, a local official in the government-controlled city of Tuzla said Friday [14 July]. Semsudin Hasanbegovic, who is in charge of social policy and refugees in the Tuzla region, reached by telephone from Zagreb, said that separatist Serb soldiers had dragged men out of the columns of refugees fleeing Srebrenica and "executed them on the spot. We've asked international institutions, particularly the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), to stop the slaughter of men from Srebrenica," Hasanbegovic said.

There was no immediate confirmation of the allegations of executions. But UN officials have expressed fears are growing over the fate of thousands of people, especially

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men, who have disappeared on their journey from the Srebrenica enclave to the safety of government-held territory in central Bosnia.

The Bosnian Serbs have claimed to have shipped 30,000 refugees out of Srebrenica after they captured it Tuesday. Aid officials said Friday they had been told 40,000 lived in the enclave but could only account for 15-16,000 who had reached government-held territory. The majority of the 11,000 refugees who had reached an airbase at Tuzla, northern Bosnia, Friday, are women and children. Another 3-4,000 are on their way, aid officials said. Another UN official estimated that 20,000 people had reached government-held areas.

Hasanbegovic said Friday that some of the men who had been forced out of Srebrenica had been captured and others had fled. Some men had been taken to the village of Bratunac on the border with Serbia. Others were taken to a camp at Konjevic Polje "where they were killed," he said. "In order to escape the massacres, many men have fled the enclave on foot down mountain paths towards areas of Bosnia under government control," the official continued, adding that some were captured as they crossed territory held by the Serbs.

He was unable to say how many men of fighting age lived in the enclave. Hasanbegovic said however that some 20,000 Moslem civilians had arrived in Tuzla from the embattled enclave and were in a "desperate situation."

UN peacekeepers in charge of the local airport where thousands of people were already encamped were preventing any new arrivals from entering the compound, he charged. Consequently thousands of people were forced to remain in the surrounding fields, "starving, completely lost, with no protection from the blistering sun."

He criticised the organisation of humanitarian aid as being "much too slow", but said some tents were being erected for the refugees. UN and aid officials were not immediately available to comment on the charges.

'Over 1,000' Executed

AU1407190195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] B-H PRESS has learned from the war presidency of the Srebrenica municipality that some 26,000 people were housed in the improvised camp in Potocari. The Chetniks took away in trucks all the men from the age of [word indistinct] to 70 in an unknown direction. There is mention of Bratunac, Milici, and Vlasenica.

The women that have arrived in Tuzla have told the Srebrenica war presidency that the Chetniks took a large number of men from the camp and summarily executed them by slitting their throats close to the camp in Potocari. According to their estimates, over 1,000 men were executed. In the past two nights, a number of men, women, and young girls committed suicide by hanging themselves or in other ways. The Chetniks entered the camp circles and the premises where the population was housed at night and took away young girls. They did not return.

On the way between Bratunac and Konjevic Polje, the women that were transported in buses and trucks saw hundreds of massacred corpses of Bosnia-Herzegovina Army members from Srebrenica and [word indistinct]. Between Konjevic Polje and Vlasenica, in four places by the road were large groups of tied men surrounded by armed Chetniks. [Words indistinct] managed to find their way to the free territory of Tuzla. Many among the civilian population hiding in the woods committed suicide. Several hundred Srebrenica defenders somewhere between Kravice and Milici are said to have killed themselves when they ran out of ammunition. [Sentence indistinct] Only a small number of people remained in Srebrenica, and they were executed on the spot, B-H PRESS learned from the Srebrenica war presidency.

ICRC Asks To Visit Men

AU1407203995 Paris AFP in English 1950 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, July 14 (AFP)—The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is holding talks with Bosnian Serb leaders to try to get permission to see men captured in the government enclave of Srebrenica, an ICRC spokesman said Friday [14 July]. Tony Burgener said it hoped to send a team to Bratunac, northeast of Srebrenica, where UN officials reported 700 to 3,000 men had been taken to a football ground. ICRC officials also want to visit 35 people taken to hospital in Bratunac, but there had been no agreement so far from the Bosnian Serb leaders at their stronghold of Pale, he added.

Tens of thousands of old men, women and children fled Srebrenica after it fell into Serb hands Tuesday, but men of draft age were separated from their families and taken elsewhere. "The ICRC urges Bosnian Serb authorities to assume their responsibilities and immediately authorize (ICRC) delegates to assist and protect civilians, prisoners, and the wounded, wherever they may be," it said in a statement.

The organisation also called for an immediate halt to "the displacement of civilians, which is contrary to

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international humanitarian law. There is unfortunately reason to fear further tens of thousands of people will suffer the same plight in the future, both in Bosnia and in neighbouring areas. There appears to be no end to the tragedy as the prospects for these people to return home recede day by day," it added.

The ICRC has sent two vehicles to Kladanj to carry the worst-off refugees from Srebrenica making their way to Tuzla, and has installed two 1,000-litre (260-gallon) barrels of water en route and filled personal water containers. ICRC officials are also trying to supply Tuzla with a further 10,000 litres of water and hope to be able to take and pass on messages to loved ones.

Bilt: Serbs To Allow ICRC Visit

AU1607145395 Paris AFP in English
1424 GMT 16 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 16 (AFP)—Humanitarian aid officials are to be allowed Sunday [16 July] by Bosnian Serbs to visit Moslem prisoners the Serbs have held since overrunning Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia, European mediator Carl Bildt said here. Bildt told the U.S. television channel WTN a deal had been struck between the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the Serbs which will allow ICRC officials to move into the region and make a record of those being held by the Serbs. The deal will allow ICRC officials to make sure the captives are being treated in accordance with international regulations, Bildt said.

The ICRC in Belgrade said earlier Sunday its representatives in the Serb stronghold Pale had been negotiating the terms of the agreement. Aid organisations have urgently requested to be allowed into the Srebrenica enclave following the capture of the former UN safe area Tuesday by advancing Bosnian Serb Army forces.

Most of the former 44,000 inhabitants of the enclave were trucked west into Bosnian government-held territory, but Bosnian authorities said Saturday the Serbs were holding a total of 5,250 men scattered in towns up to 100 kilometres (62 miles) from Srebrenica. Previous waves of ethnic cleansing in the three-year war have seen Serbs hold Moslem men in camps to prevent them joining Bosnian Government formations.

Serbs Refuse ICRC Access

AU1707121695 Paris AFP in English
1157 GMT 17 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 17 (AFP)—Red Cross officials were Monday [17 July] due to evacuate 46 wounded prisoners captured by Bosnian Serbs in Srebrenica, but were prevented from visiting other detainees despite a verbal agreement by their captors, a relief official said.

Josue Anselmo, spokesman for the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), said in Belgrade that the wounded held in Bratunac hospital, north of Srebrenica, would be evacuated later Monday.

Three ICRC medical convoys were expected in Bratunac to take the wounded to Tuzla, under Bosnian control, from where the most serious cases would be taken for treatment in rump Yugoslavia.

However despite an "agreement in principle" by Serb leaders for ICRC representatives to see the thousands of other prisoners held since last week, relief officials were later told it would not happen in the near future "for security reasons."

"We are still waiting for the green light" from the Serbs, Anselmo added. He was not able to comment on reports from the Serb stronghold of Pale that visits could start Tuesday.

The ICRC was not able to say how many men were being held, although Bosnian authorities have put the figure at 5,250. The prisoners are thought to be held in Serb-held towns neighboring Srebrenica.

ICRC officials said the agreement reached with the Serbs allowed them not only to visit prisoners but to register and interview them as well as pass messages to loved ones and conduct follow-up visits.

European Union mediator Carl Bildt said Sunday in Belgrade that such a visit would allow the ICRC to determine how many men were accounted for and being treated properly and how many were missing.

Bosnian refugees who fled the enclave after it was captured last week said prisoners had been executed by the Serbs, although that was not independently confirmed.

Meanwhile the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has medical teams waiting for permission to visit 15,000 refugees who, according to unconfirmed reports, are at Konjevic Polje, about 80 kilometres (50 miles) northeast of Sarajevo, a UNHCR spokesman said.

It was also hoping to evacuate about 50 patients from Srebrenica hospital who were thought to have been transferred by the Serbs to Potocari where the Dutch UN battalion is based.

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Refugees Report Rapes, Killings

AU1607130695 Paris AFP in English
2126 GMT 15 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 15 (AFP)—Aid officials heard harrowing tales of rape ordeals and the sudden disappearance of loved ones as they tried to help thousands of refugees at Tuzla airport Saturday [15 July] battle dehydration and lack of food. "The women are in tears. They don't know where their husbands are, or their sons, their brothers," a gynaecologist, who did not want to be named, told AFP by telephone from Tuzla airport.

"They have seen young women raped and men of military age killed by the Serb soldiers as they fled Srebrenica," the Moslem enclave captured by Bosnian Serbs forces Tuesday, she added. "The children are crying too, they are dehydrated, the heat is unbearable, there are many cases of sunstroke."

"I myself treated a young girl who had been raped. She told me she had seen other young women suffer the same fate, but they disappeared from their column going toward the Moslem-controlled zone," she added. She said one woman hanged herself at the airport Friday and another tried to kill herself. Her comments were borne out by television pictures showing mothers comforting their children, sometimes children comforting their crying mothers.

Some 5,000 refugees were Saturday preparing to spend another night in this tented city 100 kilometres (60 miles) from Srebrenica. "They are all desperate and in a state of shock, the women especially," the gynaecologist added. She, like all doctors here, had spent the morning at the dispensary set up here by humanitarian organisations.

However UN officials said the influx of refugees to Tuzla was slowing and the situation there was improving. The international aid organisation Medecins sans Frontieres (Doctors Without Borders) has sent in a 13-strong team with medical supplies, while 40 tonnes of emergency rations was en route there through the World Food Programme. The International Committee of the Red Cross will try to pass messages from families on to loved ones to help end uncertainty over their fate, a spokesman said earlier.

A Tuzla official, Semsudin Hasanbegovic, said that, of the 44,000 inhabitants of Srebrenica, some 15,000 "are unaccounted for." The Bosnian government said around 5,250 Moslems from Srebrenica were being held in Serb camps in Bratunac, Vlasenica, Nova Kasaba, Konjevic Polje, Kravica and Batkovic.

Hasanbegovic said two babies had been born at the Tuzla camp and four others in the town's hospital since the refugees, some 23,468, by his calculation, arrived. Most of those who set up in the scrubland around the airport had been moved into schools and sports halls in five villages around Tuzla, he added.

"Bosnian authorities are looking for somewhere to place the 1,500 refugees still around the airport. They are also preparing to take in other refugees, notably from the Zepa enclave." Zepa and its population of 12,000 are thought to be the next target in the Serb advance, having come under artillery fire for days with only 79 Ukrainian peacekeepers to protect them.

Refugees Vent Anger at UN

AU1407194295 Paris AFP in English
1918 GMT 14 Jul 95

[Report by Craig Johnston]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 14 (AFP)—Thousands of desperate refugees fleeing the Bosnian Serbs vented their anger on UN officials as they converged Friday [14 July] weary and hungry at an already overcrowded Tuzla airport, according to an eyewitness account. Refugees threw stones at officials and media, blaming them for their plight after the fall of Srebrenica and the hounding out of its Muslim inhabitants by the victorious Serb army. "It's terrible," a photographer at the scene reported. "They are throwing stones and being very violent. They are throwing stones" at UN officials and the press because they blamed them "for not being able to help."

Between 14,000 and 25,000 refugees, according to estimates by the UN High Commissioner (UNHCR) and the aid organisation Medecins sans Frontieres (MSF, Doctors Without Borders) are at the airport. The photographer reported 10,000 massed outside the airport who refused to go inside "because they've had enough of the United Nations, they do not trust them, and they do not want their help.

"The United Nations are doing they best they can, they are not prepared for this amount of people, they do not have food, the water, or the housing. There are too many people and too few resources. They have no food and very little water—it can only be a matter of days before disease and dehydration sets in." He said one woman had reportedly hanged herself outside the airport building, which is also a UN base, because of her plight.

The photographer said he and a television crew were attacked. "People were throwing stones and anything they could at us and we had to leave by armoured car." Later, "while travelling through the camp one crowd of

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women stopped myself and the crew and threatened to kill us unless we could get UN help for them."

Inside the airport the refugees already on the runway appeared calm. UN officials had erected around 1,000 tents for them, the photographer said, and hoped to set up another 10,000. "But outside (the airport) there are probably 10,000 refugees, the majority have not eaten for days and there is only very limited water," he added.

"From what I see the only thing people have problems with is dehydration. The weather is very warm and there is a lack of water. The children obviously are not well because no one has any food. They (the refugees inside) are better treated because they have decided the UN are the only people who can help them."

He said the only people seemingly allowed inside the airport "are those who are calm, but I saw no one entering while I was there (for about two hours). I would say in a matter of days it is going to get very bad. They're very weak, they have had to travel from Srebrenica through dangerous territory and have had to walk many miles. Everyone is very tired, very weary."

Refugees were arriving by the hour and every busload brought old men, women and children—but no men of military draft age. "What they will do for food I don't know. Everybody I spoke to was looking for someone. Everywhere there are women wailing, old men cannot move, everyone is in a bad way," he said. "There are no men of draft age. I spoke to one woman and she said all the men of draft age were taken away and they have not heard from then since. The feeling among the refugees is they will not see them again."

Earlier UNHCR spokesman Ron Redmond, speaking in Geneva, said the UNHCR did not want to "prolong" the situation at Tuzla. As well as heat there was a lack of sanitation and mined zones nearby. However he said the situation was "manageable" because food, water, blankets and medicines had been supplied, while a cargo plane was to land with 12 tonnes of supplies for MSF and two other flights were also scheduled.

Authorities Cite Number of 'Prisoners'

AU1507151795 Paris AFP in English 1502 GMT 15 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 15 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs are holding prisoner 5,250 people in the Moslem enclave of Srebrenica, the Bosnian ambassador in Zagreb said in a statement sent to AFP here Saturday [15 July].

Bosnian authorities said further "massacres were committed in two villages," which they did not name, by Serb forces, forces loyal to Serb paramilitary leader Zeljko Rzanjatovic's and an artillery unit of the army of the rump Yugolsavia.

Three thousand Bosnian Moslems are being held in Nova Kasaba, 100 kilometres (60 miles) north-west of Sarajevo, 400 in the neighbouring area of Konjevic Polje, and 700 in the town of Vlasenica, further south-west, the statement said.

A further 150 are in the camp of Batkovic, near Bijeljina in the north-east, where many Moslem prisoners have been taken since the start of the war.

In addition, the statement said 1,000 Bosnian Moslems were being held in Bratunac, under Serb control, situtated near the border with Serbia and not far from Srebrenica, which Bosnian Serbs captured Tuesday.

15,000 Moving Toward Tuzla

AU1707102995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 17 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Crisis Committee for Srebrenica in Tuzla reports that a group of 15,000 people is moving from the region of Srebrenica toward the Tuzla-Podrinje Canton, and that, in the expectation of the arrival of these refugees, all preparations have been made to receive and take care of them.

Sarajevo Reports on Refugee Resettlement

LD1507122895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 15 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the crisis center of the Tuzla-Podrinje canton, throughout the night and up to 0800 [0600 GMT] this morning, 13,500 [Srebrenica] refugees were moved from [Tuzla's] Dubrave airport to temporary accommodation throughout the canton. In Lukavac municipality, 3,500 refugees have been given temporary accommodation; in Banovici—2,000; in Srebrenik—2,500; in (?Ugljevik)—3,500; in Kladanj—500; and in Gracanica—1,500.

In the area of Dubrave airport, 5,180 Srebrenica refugees are being accommodated under 600 tents. About 2,000 refugees have found accommodation with friends and relatives in the canton. UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] has so far delivered 12,000 blankets, 4,000 [word indistinct], and 4,200 sleeping bags.

Denies Expatriation Plans

AU1407190695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] This statement has arrived from the Office of the President of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency:

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In the midst of the tragedy that has befallen the Bosniak population of Srebrenica, there has been completely arbitrary speculation in one part of the public that the authorities of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina plan to transfer the population of Srebrenica abroad.

The Office of the prEsident of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency therefore expresses surprise that anyone could possibly believe that our authorities would [words indistinct] its own people. It is not only the people of Srebrenica that have lost Srebrenica, but it is a loss for all of us, we believe temporarily. Therefore, the care of the displaced people of Srebrenica is our responsibility and duty. In that sense, the Presidency and the Government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina are undertaking all measures within their best ability to improve the position of the Srebrenica people that have been expelled from their homes by the Serbian-Montenegrin aggressor, reads the statement from the Office of the President of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

Muslim Forces From Srebrenica Escape To Zepa

LD1507192195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1840 GMT 15 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 15 Jul (SRNA)—Over 1,000 most extreme members of the former 28th Srebrenica Division, under the command of war criminals Hakija Meholjic and Zulfo Tursumovic, escaped to Zepa from the liberated Srebrenica territory after 13 July.

Serb military sources report that these Muslim extremists have killed four Serb civilians, including one child, in the Zepa area, burned down several Serb houses, and slaughtered the cattle of Serb farmers from this area.

Meholjic and Tursumovic are reported to have included in their units extremists from the Zepa Brigade on arrival in Zepa, carried out forced mobilization, blocked and disarmed members of the Ukrainian UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] battalion, and launched attacks on Serb positions and civilian targets.

The extremists of the former 28th Srebrenica Brigade have banned contacts between Zepa's Muslim representatives and the Serb side and sown fear and unrest among the local populations.

The Serb military sources also say that Meholjic and Tursumovic had led Srebrenica extremists, responsible for mass crimes against Serb civilians from the Zvornik, Milici, Vlasenica, Bratunac, Han Pijesak, and Srebrenica areas from April 1992 until today.

Troops Escape to Tuzla

AU1707124295 Paris AFP in English 1215 GMT 17 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 17 (AFP)—A number of Bosnian Army soldiers from the fallen Srebrenica enclave have managed to escape to government territory, a presidential aide said Monday [17 July]. "We have confirmation that a certain number of people succeeded in slipping out of the encirclement of Srebrenica and arrived in territories under Bosnian Government Army control in the Tuzla area," Kemal Muftic, an aide to Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic said. He gave no numbers or further details.

Bosnian Serb forces crushed the Srebrenica enclave last Tuesday in a ruthless campaign which saw thousands of refugees herded onto trucks and dumped close to frontlines where they walked to safety. At the same time, many thousands of draft-age men were filtered off from this main group and are unaccounted for. The Bosnian Serbs have also boasted of "terminating great numbers" in an ambush as the soldiers tried to flee the Serb advance.

The Srebrenica enclave is thought to have had a population of some 40,000 people. Some 30,000 are accounted for in the Tuzla region, northeast Bosnia, where mostly women and children are being attended to by aid agencies.

There have been reports of up to 3,000 men gathered in a football stadium in a Serb town near Srebrenica. The Bosnian government says approximately 5,000 are held by the Serbs in various locations. Access to the men for the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] has been denied by the Serbs for "security reasons" a ICRC spokeswoman said Sunday.

Serb Officials Tour Srebrenica, Note City Plans

LD1607175595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1603 GMT 16 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Srebrenica, 16 Jul (SRNA)—A meeting was held in Srebrenica today between officials of the government of the Serb Republic and the wartime presidency of the Srebrenica-Skelani municipality to discuss further efforts in setting up civilian authorities in this liberated Serb municipality.

The meeting was attended by the Serb Republic Deputy Prime Minister Dragan Dragic, Deputy Justice Minister Anton Nikolic, Deputy Trade Minister Mladen Cicovic, Miroslav Deronjic, president of the Srebrenica-Skelani municipality wartime presidency, and others.

After the meeting, Deputy Prime Minister Dragic told SRNA that "the government will provide all necessary

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support, including experts and financial support, to revive both civilian and economic life in the municipality as soon as possible."

"With its natural and economic resources, Srebrenica can support both its own people and neighboring municipalities. The Serb Republic government will cooperate with the Srebrenica civilian authorities in setting up necessary bodies of authority and developing the strategy of resettling displaced persons," Dragic said.

He went on to add that the liberation of Srebrenica created the necessary conditions for establishing a compact industrial-economic and cultural zone deep inside the Serb Republic liberated territory. On behalf of the Serb Republic government, he once again thanked and congratulated officers and troops of the Serb army on successfully executing their task.

After touring the Srebrenica-Skelani municipality, Dragic spoke about "an apparent effort by the wartime presidency and the people of the area to normalize life in Srebrenica as soon as possible."

Radio Srebrenica To Broadcast

LD1507093495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1820 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratunac, 13 Jul (SRNA)—Radio Bratunac Director Bosko Milovanovic told SRNA on 13 July that Radio Srebrenica would go on the air as soon as electricity supply was restored.

According to Milovanovic, who was Radio Srebrenica director before the war, the station will be heard on its old frequency of 105.8 MHz on short waves and 1485 kHz on medium waves.

Following liberation, the situation in Srebrenica is gradually returning to normal. A public security station has been set up and the Serb population earlier expelled from Srebrenica is starting to return.

UN Asks For NATO 'Air Presence' Over Zepa

AU1607141795 Paris AFP in English 1407 GMT 16 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 16 (AFP)—NATO warplanes were asked to maintain "air presence" over the Zepa enclave under attack from Bosnian Serb forces Sunday [16 July] following a request from the Ukrainian UN commander in the UN safe area. UN spokesman Alexander Ivanko said the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) "requested air presence over Zepa at 3:35 p.m. (1335 GMT) following a demand from the local company commander who preceived a threat to his peacekeepers in the enclave."

"Air presence" is the UN term for when NATO warplanes fly over a designated target in an effort to deter or ward off further attacks against peacekeepers. In the past, air presence has often proved ineffective in deterring the Serbs from pursuing their aims on the battlefield.

Last week, Bosnian Serb forces shrugged off two NATO air strikes against their tanks attacking the UN safe area of Srebrenica which they quickly overran. Zepa is likewise covered by a UN resolution permitting peacekeepers to use force to "deter" attacks against themselves or the safe area.

NATO Planes Reported

LD1607184395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 16 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The press bureau of the Serb Republic has announced that on two occasions today, at 1430 and 1530 GMT, NATO aircraft carried out combat operations in the region of the so-called protected zone of Zepa. It has been learned that eight U.S. and Turkish NATO planes took part in the operation, which was not sanctioned by UN officials.

Officers of the UN Ukrainian battalion deployed in the area of Zepa confirmed that the F-18 pilots were given no permission for combat activity.

The Serb Republic press bureau says that UN officials knew nothing about the NATO operation and that the outcome of an investigation into the operation carried out at the sole initiative of the U.S. and Turkish planes is not known.

Serbs Warn on NATO Flights

AU1707112595 Paris AFP in English 1102 GMT 17 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, July 17 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs surrounding a UN post manned by Ukrainian peacekeepers threatened Monday [17 July] to attack it if NATO war planes buzz the Zepa enclave, on which Serb forces are advancing.

"A company commander of the BSA (Bosnian Serb Army) arrived at the Ukrainian post at 11:15 [0915 GMT] this morning and declared that if NATO air presence was called for, the (peacekeepers' post) would be fired on," UN spokesman Alexander Ivanko said.

Sunday, NATO air planes roared over the threatened enclave, a UN-declared safe area, in a show of force but took no action. The NATO "air presence" as it is called in UN terminology, was requested following Serb mortar and tank attacks on Zepa town, where the peacekeepers are based.

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The UN post concerned lies just outside the perimeter of the enclave and is surrounded by Bosnian Serb forces. The peacekeepers failed to escape from the post Sunday into Zepa because of fighting in the area.

Asked if this meant the seven Ukrainian soldiers and one officer were hostages since the Serbs had set conditions, Ivanko said: "I don't know this time but there is a condition." [passage omitted]

NATO jets flew overhead in the afternoon after a request from the Ukraininan company commander in Zepa for air presence.

Bosnians Report FRY Air Attacks

LD1607203695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 16 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the latest Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center reports, the Chetniks are launching fierce artillery and infantry attacks on Zepa. The air force of the self-proclaimed Yugoslavia is taking part in the attacks. Soldiers of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army are offering heroic resistance, inflicting heavy losses in manpower on the aggressor. The defenders of Zepa destroyed one armored personnel carrier this afternoon.

Zepa People Issue Appeal

LD1607221095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 16 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] This afternoon we received the following appeal by the population of Zepa sent via the Zepa wartime presidency [as heard] to Alija Izetbegovic, the president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina; Miro Lazovic, the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly; and Mariofil Ljubic, the president of the founding assembly of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

In view of an eight-day long steady shelling of the protected zone of Zepa with the current population of 17,000 people and the newly arrived 6,000 to 8,000 sick, hungry, and exhausted refugees from Srebrenica and that a similar fate of the unprecedented genocide over the population of Srebrenica is probably intended for us, we are appealing to you with the demand to urgently ask the UN Security Council if Zepa is still a protected zone, and if it is who is protecting it. Our message is that yesterday we gained 79 new citizens from Ukraine sent by Mr. Butrus-Ghali to Zepa to die together with us under Chetnik fire in the protected zone. They are sharing the fate of the people of Zepa and we will either survive together or die together. The message from the fighters of the heroic Zepa is that they will defend Bosnia along the Drina River to the very last man. It is certain that they will sell their lives dearly since they have nothing to lose. We ask the world public, if it is still listening to our pleas, to pass our message to the people of Ukraine whose sons are with us in the Bosnian hell that is today called Zepa, the people of Zepa say in their message.

Defenders Repulse Serb Attacks

AU1707090995 Paris AFP in English 0856 GMT 17 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, July 17 (AFP)—Bosnian Army defenders of the threatened eastern Zepa enclave claimed Monday [17 July] to have repulsed Serb attacks against the safe area as UN officials reported the situation remained "stable" overnight.

Bosnian radio said "all artillery and infantry assaults of the Chetniks (Serbs) were repulsed. The Bosnian Army destroyed one Chetnik armoured personnel carrier."

The Bosnian claim was supported in part by UN assessments.

"It appears that there is resistance by the forces in the Zepa enclave," UN spokeswoman Major Myriam Souchacki said on Monday. [passage omitted] Bosnian army soldiers returned Serb fire with mortar bombs from the centre of the town close to the UN compound, a UN spokesman said.

Ukrainian peacekeepers who number 79 have mostly withdrawn into their main base in the town. Three UN posts elsewhere in the enclave however are still manned, officials said.

Ukrainian Defense Minister Valery Shmarov warned Monday that his country had not ruled out the use of force to liberate its peackeepers. "We can launch an operation to free them," he was quoted as saying by the Russian INTERFAX news agency.

He added that the use of force was not always the best solution and that a study was underway as to whether to pull the UN contingent from Bosnia. "We cannot expose people to danger," he said. He added that the peacekeepers were still being allowed radio contact with their superiors. [passage omitted]

Radio amateurs said the last direct link with Zepa was on Saturday. Messages from the Bosnian officials in the enclave come to Sarajevo via radio communication with officials in another government enclave Gorazde, also in eastern Bosnia.

The Bosnians refer to the Serbs in radio reports as Chetniks, World War II guerillas who fought Tito's communist partisans and collaborated with the Nazis. They

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have been resurrected as national heros by the Serbs during the bitter conflicts in the former Yugoslavia.

UN: Zepa 'Holding the Line'

AU1707131995 Paris AFP in English 1243 GMT 17 Jul 95

[Report by Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, July 17 (AFP)—[Passage omitted] The military situation in the Zepa safe area, where Bosnian defenders are resisting a Serb assault, appeared to have "stabilised," a UN spokesman said. But he added that peacekeepers tasked to deter attacks against the enclave could only "watch and see" how events developed. [passage omitted]

Bosnian Army defenders of the threatened enclave claimed Monday to have repulsed Sunday's Serb attacks against the safe area. State Bosnian radio said "all artillery and infantry assaults of the Chetniks (Serbs) were repulsed."

The Bosnian claim was supported in part by UN assessments. "Yes, there is resistance," said UN spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Gary Coward. Zepa's defenders were armed with mortars, Coward said, which they had positioned some 500 meters (yards) from the Ukrainian base in the town.

"They are holding the line. They have not fumbled. They do have mortars, we can only watch and see how the battle develops," Coward said, adding that the town, spread across several small valleys, lends itself to defense.

UN assessments put the BSA [Bosnian Serb Army] soldiers some 1.5 kilometers (one mile) from the town itself. The Zepa enclave has a population of roughly 12,000, who according to Bosian radio have been mobilised for the defence of the area.

The 79 Ukrainian peacekeepers in Zepa have for the most part withdrawn into their main base in the town. [passage omitted]

UN: Zepa Situation 'Stabilizing'

AU1707082895 Paris AFP in English 0811 GMT 17 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, July 17 (AFP)—The situation in the threatened eastern Bosnian enclave of Zepa was "stabilising" Monday morning [17 July] after coming under attack at the weekend from Bosnian Serbs, UN spokesman Gerard Dubois said here. [passage omitted]

The Serbs, on a mission to "ethnically cleanse" the enclaves, have called on Bosnian Government troops to lay down their arms and quit Zepa.

Meanwhile, in the Bosnian capital, Sarajevo, two vehicles and equipment bellonging to the UN military observers were stolen, Dubois said without giving further details.

Bihac Under Serb Artillery Attack

LD1507095495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 15 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The very center of Bihac has come under an enemy artillery attack. The outcome of this Chetnik attack is: two killed and several injured civilians. The combined aggressor [Bosnian and Croatian Serbs] has been mounting sporadic artillery-infantry attacks on Mt. Grmec and [word indistinct]. We have more details from our reporter in Bihac:

[Correspondent Muhamed Mulic] Since 0630 [0430 GMT] this morning, Bihac has been heavily shelled from howitzers and tanks from the notorious Chetnik strongholds of Gorjevac and (?Verihovac) [southeast of Bihac]. A number of highly destructive shells have hit the very center of the town. In addition to fresh damage, two civilians have been killed and several slightly or seriously injured. At the same time, the enemy targeted Bihac hospital which under all international conventions should be protected and spared any attacks.

While the aggressor's artillery was shelling Bihac, his forces attempted several infantry assaults on Turski Kozjen and Hrgar on Mt. Grmec. Fighters of the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, however, responded vehemently, pushing the enemy to his initial positions.

In the area of Radic, the aggressor attempted several unsuccessful attacks on our defense positions. Since early this morning, heavy fighting has been taking place near (?Cehovo) in the region of Vrnograc [Velika Kladusa region], where the combined aggressor's troops have mounted artillery and infantry attacks in an attempt to penetrate the 5th Corps' defense lines. The defense lines of the 5th Corps of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina are firm and under full control.

This is Muhamed Mulic reporting from Bihac for Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and Television.

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Missiles Launched on Cazin

AU1707105295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 17 Jul 95

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Chetniks have been firing missiles of an unknown type on the Cazin area again this morning. Hoping to regain the territory recently lost, the [Serb] aggressor is continuing to attack all the free territories and defense lines in the Una-Sana Canton. Mirza Sadikovic in Bihac has the details;

[Sadikovic] [words indistinct] after last night shelling of the Bihac and (?Cazin) Municipalities, which were hit with surface-to-surface missiles. Material damage to residential buildings is substantial. Information on casualties is not available yet, except [words indistinct].

The Cazin area was again hit by missiles of an unknown type this morning from [words indistinct]. The Bihac protected area was overflown by the [word indistinct] aircraft, which had taken off from [word indistinct] Airport. [passage omitted]

Serb General Condemns Muslim Attacks From Bihac

LD1507205195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1944 GMT 15 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Krupa na Uni, 15 Jul (SRNA)—Muslims from the Bihac pocket attacked Serb defense lines on the Grmusa-Grabez plateau throughout the day and clashes continued in the early evening hours.

Lieutenant Colonel General Manojlo Milovanovic, the chief of staff of the Serb Republic Army's Main Headquarters, told the Bosnian Serb TV that "the only role of Bihac as a safe area is to allow Muslim units to regroup and recuperate after every defeat they suffer. The international community feeds and arms them, and then they are at it again," Milovanovic said, and added that "this is happening over and over again, but it can not continue for long."

According to Milovanovic, "even though it is territorially isolated, the military leadership in Bihac is blindly implementing the warmongering policy of the Muslim authorities in Sarajevo," thus "creating problems for itself and the people in the surrounding area for years now."

Karadzic's Serbs Renew Attacks on Gorazde Front

AU1707103695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 17 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Karadzic's Chetniks last night renewed artillery attacks along the entire Gorazde front. They attacked our lines of defense with tank, howitzer, and mortar shells.

Mustafa Kurtovic reports that the [Serb] aggressor wounded three civilians in his attack with antiaircraft and small arms on the settlements of Vitkovici, Obarak, and (?Kaljanik).

Bosnia Croats Seek Alliance With Muslims

LD1407153395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1030 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 14 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Croats Friday called on Muslims to effect with them a sincere alliance so as to, as set out, jointly oppose the Serbs.

Speaking on Herzeg-Bosnia radio, Bosnian Croat Defense Minister Vladimir Soljic said "an alliance and cooperation between the Croats and Muslims must be placed on clearly defined foundations. We must know in advance what we want and how to go about achieving it."

The Bosnian Croats and Muslims, after a year of heavy fighting for territories in central and southern Bosnia-Herzegovina, under strong U.S. pressure formed a federation in March 1994 which did not function in practice.

The two sides continued mutual recriminations for ethnic cleasning and nonfunctioning of their state which exists in name only.

Soljic said he hoped that the loss of Srebrenica would soon be made up for, perhaps in the next operation around Sarajevo.

Assessing the arrival of the Rapid Reaction Force, Soljic said no one wanted a foreign army on one's territory. "I am not opposed in principle to the Rapid Reaction Force, but I would like to know its ultimate purpose," he said.

Administration, Army: Obstacles to Federation

AU1707122295 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jul 95 p 5

[Commentary by Ivan Sabic: "Between Cooperation and (In)Dependence"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When will Herzeg-Bosnia be abolished, is one of the questions the Croat political leadership in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been directly and indirectly asked, and they regularly answer that it will happen when the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina starts to function. This is in line with the Federal Constitution, which envisages that all the "administrative

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arrangements" will be in place by the end of the transitional period, that is, by the time the first elections are held and the new administration established. Despite that, the same question is voiced alongside condemnation of the efforts of the local Croat leadership in Bosnia-Herzegovina in line with the Federal Constitution and Vienna Treaty, to gain the establishment of municipalities with a Croat majority in cantons [administrative units] with a Muslim majority from those who present themselves as great champions of the Federation.

The Croatian opposition parties, along with the opposition and leading parties from Bosnia-Herzegovina, have also sent their leaders to Sarajevo in order to support the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by signing the Sarajevo Declaration, which, among other things, says that "the only way to peace and a political solution in this long-suffering country is by strengthening the Federation of Bosniaks and Croats within Bosnia-Herzegovina," but from the individual statements given on the occasion, one can conclude that some of the signers either do not know what they are talking about or are deliberately ignoring the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and other acts by which the Federation has been defined. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain some of the statements heard in Sarajevo, heard many times before and after the Sarajevo Declaration.

Fear of Majoritarianism

One of the signatories of the Declaration, at the relevant news conference, having talked about the problem of Mostar, asserted that a nationally divided town did not exist anywhere in the world. "If there is such a town, let Zubak show it to us," the same participant said. Maybe he has set a task that is impossible to carry out, particularly because it is not very easy to define precisely what a nationally divided town means, but no less impracticable would be to search for a multinational state in which the peoples do not have their national rights granted also through the existence of national areas, either in the form of legally equal territorial and administrative units, or autonomous regions, if the point in question is preserving the rights of a national minority. The exceptions are, of course, countries that have nothing to do with terms like democracy and national equality.

After all, the fear of being outvoted and endeavors to prevent it by establishing effective administrative units is by no means a Croat invention. Muslims also sense that fear very strongly, and that is why they refused to stay in Yugoslavia. For the same reason they demand a special status for Sandzak and, before the war, together with the Croats, they started the initiative to establish a new municipality in the region of Banja Luka. In some parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina after the war began, they established new municipalities with a Muslim majority, and at the same time there is no way that they "can understand" the Croats when they want to establish municipalities with a Croat majority in certain parts of the Federation. So, there is obviously something wrong there. And there is something wrong even when some Croatian politician opposes the protection of the Croat national identity in Bosnia-Herzegovina through the establishment of municipalities as basic administrative units, although it is known how much the actual Muslim leadership is willing to do in the practical realization of equality, even to the degree that is envisaged by the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina (not to mention the Federal Constitution). Even in the Tuzla region, usually set as an example of idyllic coexistence of the two nations, Croat children at school learn according to a program that is not only unacceptable but also often humiliating. For the classes there are based upon programs and textbooks that bristle with tales of Croat fascism and Croat genocide over the Muslims, and with the language and choice of texts used there they are addressing only the children of Muslim nationality.

Problems That Cannot Be Neglected

Those are the problems that cannot be neglected when we talk about the survival of the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Because, in the end, it is all the same whether the Croats will be driven out from some parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina by force or by depriving them of their basic civil and national rights and liberties.

If the Federal Constitution and the Vienna Treaty allowed and envisaged the existence of municipalities with the majority of one nation in a canton in which there is a majority of another nation, endowing it with exceptionally great authority, there is no reason why the political representatives of both nations should not strive for their consistent application. And there is no reason at all to proclaim anyone who does so an enemy of the Federation.

An almost identical story can be told when the point in question is the establishment of the joint Croat-Muslim army. Every time that project was under discussion, and the project has been under consideration for as long as the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina have existed, heated arguments arose over the degree of (in)dependence of the two components that the new armed power. And who is guilty then for that joint force not having been established, the one who insists on preserving the identity of the Croat people (also) through preventing

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the smaller Croat component from being absorbed in the larger Muslim one, or the one who refuses any model of coexistence that makes majoritarianism, or outvoting, impossible.

Karadzic Favors Talks Based on Equal Treatment

LD1607193495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1904 GMT 16 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Madrid, July 16 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic has told the Spanish daily EL PAIS that Bosnian Serbs are ready to sit at the negotiating table if they get the same treatment as Bosnian Muslims and Croats.

In an interview, which EL PAIS published on Sunday, Karadzic said that Bosnia peace talks could begin during Spain's presidency over the European Union, since "Spain has no direct interests in the settlement of the crisis in the territory of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Speaking about the Muslim enclaves in Bosnia, which have been made topical again, Karadzic said that they were not demilitarized zones, but "Muslim strongholds" and that as such, they had to disappear.

"We are not prepared to sustain daily casualties because of false safe areas in which terrorists are being protected," Karadzic said and added that under international law, "safe areas should be places without military elements" and not places "where thousands of armed men are massed."

Karadzic denied that Bosnian Serbs had ever bombed civilians and said that they strictly shelled places from which Muslims were firing.

"Muslims are those who place their artillery near civilian zones, hospitals and UNPROFOR (the UN Protection Force)," Karadzic said and added that first UNPROFOR commander in Bosnia, Canadian General Lewis Mackenzie, had been speaking about this when he said that Serbs were firing in legitimate defence.

Karadzic confirmed that Serbia had cut off "absolutely every assistance" to the Bosnian Serbs. He said that he was "hurt by the severance of relations" but that he understood the "pressure of the unjust international sanctions" and the fact that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic "has to think about Yugoslavia and Serbia."

Speaking about Sarajevo, Karadzic said that before the war, it was the second largest Serb-populated city in the then Yugoslavia and that Muslims later moved to it in large numbers from other parts of the country. He said that in his opinion Sarajevo should either be partitioned into two, or be a Serb city.

Speaking about the International War Crimes Tribunal, Karadzic said it was an "embarrassment to the international community."

After World War II, there were wars waged by the United States and other countries, but nobody declared their leaders war criminals because of it, Karadzic said.

Karadzic's Serbs Insisting on Dividing Sarajevo

AU1407154695 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 13 July 95

[Report by Radan Skipina]

[FBIS Translated Text] Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic and National Assembly Chairman Momcilo Krajisnik have been holding consultations with the representatives of the war presidencies and presidents of executive committees of [Serb-occupied] Sarajevo municipalities today in Pale. Vojislav Maksimovic, major of Serb Sarajevo, was also present at the meeting. Radan Skipina will tell us more about the meeting:

[Skipina] Today's meeting was devoted to the current military, political, and economic situation in the municipalities of the Sarajevo region after the state of war was declared in this part of the Serb Republic in reply to the Muslim-Croat offensive on Serb Sarajevo. Having discussed many problems regarding the functioning and activities in the state of war and the degree of involvement of human and economic potential in the defense of Serb Sarajevo, Mayor Vojislav Maksimovic said the following about the importance of today's meeting.

[Begin recording] I think this is a very important meeting. This is one of the meetings held since the declaration of the state of war that most seriously considered the military and political situation in Sarajevo in the light of the latest developments on the territory of the Serb Republic. These new developments have changed the situation quite a bit. We can say that nothing has been the same on the front since we liberated Srebrenica. We are determined to defend Sarajevo, our city, and our right to live in Sarajevo. We still think the city should be divided into two parts, a Muslim one and a Serb one, as we proposed earlier on. Frankly, the declaration of the state of war has made the situation rather serious, and we are taking it very seriously. All authorities are functioning perfectly under the given circumstances. Furthermore, we have commended our soldiers for their brave defense, which crushed the Muslim offensive on Sarajevo. Moreover, on the basis of our information, we are aware that the offensive could be repeated in a similar form, but also that we have enough forces to defend this city and inflict losses on the enemy, just as it deserves. [end recording]

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[Skipina] Regardless of certain military, economic, utility, and other problems, we will use all the forces of the Serb Sarajevo municipalities to overcome the situation and ultimately emerge as victors from the war crisis, added Serb Sarajevo Mayor Vojislav Maksimovic in a statement for Serb Radio and Television after the meeting of the presidents of the war presidencies and presidents of the executive committees of Serb Sarajevo municipalities with Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic and Assembly Chairman Momcilo Krajisnik.

Pale Announces Power Cuts in Serb-Occupied Areas

AU1407151695 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 13 July 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Serb Republic government has held a session today in Pale. The session chaired by Deputy Prime Minister Jovo Roso commended the officers and men of units that participated in the liberation of Srebrenica. The session also sent congratulations to the Serb Republic Army General Staff in light of this latest military victory.

The government discussed the electricity situation in the country and made several decisions to ensure the stability of production and rational use of electricity. The session concluded that not enough attention has been paid to the rational use of electricity in the past period, warned that there could be serious consequences for the electricity system and the economy, and announced power cuts. [passage omitted]

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France's Millon, Juras Discuss Bosnia

LD1507105795 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 15 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] French Defense Minister Charles Millon was in Split this morning. Here is a report by Mladen Vukovic:

[Vukovic] Following his visit to Tomislavgrad last night, French Defense Minister Charles Millon had a brief meeting at Split airport this morning with Josip Juras, deputy minister of defense of the Republic of Croatia. Speaking about an ultimatum to the Bosnian Serbs following the fall of Srebrenica, Minister Millon said the following at a news conference:

[Begin Millon recording, in French with superimposed Croatian translation] Some think that France is the one who is setting the deadlines, but these are fixed primarily by the events in Bosnia-Herzegovina. All France is doing is seeking the allies' attention since, if there is no quick decision, we will no longer be committed to implementing the mandate of our peacekeeping forces. This means protecting the Gorazde enclave and lifting the blockade of Sarajevo and guaranteeing safety, freedom of movement, and democracy for the population there. [end recording]

The aim of my visit to Bosnia is to explain President Chirac's proposal for resolving the newly created situation in eastern Bosnia, French Defense Minister Charles Millon said.

Following his brief meeting with the French defense minister, Croatian deputy defense minister gave the following statement to Croatia radio:

We talked about the problems of Bosnia-Herzegovina and, in particular, those surrounding the fall of Srebrenica and Serb aggressor's attack on Zepa. We believe that we share the view on the need not just to condemn but also to stop the Serb aggressor. Of course, it is now up to a strong international force to implement this and we, of course, also talked about the situation in the Republic of Croatia. The French have shown full understanding for us.

Granic: RRF Must Adhere to 'Defined Mandate'

AU1507152595 Paris AFP in English 1454 GMT 15 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 15 (AFP)—Croatia will only back the multi-national Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) for Bosnia-Herzegovina if it sticks to a limited and well defined mandate, Croatia's Foreign Minister Mate Granic has said. In an interview published in the daily VECERNJI LIST Saturday, Granic said Zagreb would not allow the RRF to operate from Croatia unless it stuck to its stated goals of providing backing for UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) troops, helping the peace process, and opening aid corridors.

The RRF "will only have the support of Croatia if it contributes to the implementation of the plan of the (five-nation) Contact Group on Bosnia, to opening the humanitarian corridors and to the protection of peace forces," Granic said. "All other forms of action will counter the strategic interests of Croatian and Bosnian people," he added, warning that the force would only be able to operate in Croatia with the agreement of the Croatian authorities.

Units of the yet to be deployed 12,500-strong force are currently based in Croat-held southern Bosnia, while others remain based in Croatia itself awaiting permission from the Croatian authorities for deployment and still more are on stand-by in Britain and France.

Friday, French President Jacques Chirac urged a wider role for the force, saying it represented Europe's last chance to safeguard peace in former Yugoslavia. Top U.S., British and French military officials are due in London Sunday to discuss possible responses to the escalating crisis triggered by Serb advances on UN safe havens in eastern Bosnia.

Granic's warning was seen as a statement that Croatia, which has frequently expressed its exasperation with the role played by the UN in its own dragging conflict with Serb separatists, would not tolerate a broader role for the RRF.

Gen Cervenko Named New Army Chief of Staff

LD1507140995 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] It has been announced by the Office of the President of the republic—on the basis of Article 100, Paragraph 1, of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, and Articles 94, 95, and 159, Paragraph 1, of the Law on Service in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia—that the president of the republic and Croatian Armed Forces' supreme commander has adopted the following decision:

Corps General Janko Bobetko is relieved of his duties as Chief of the General Staff of the Croatian Army, because he is retiring. Corps General Zvonimir Cervenko is dismissed as head of the Military Office of the President of the republic and is appointed as chief of the General Staff of the Croatian Army. The decision takes effect immediately.

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Views Tasks, Yugoslav Involvement

LD1607153095 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2130 GMT 15 Jul 95

[Studio interview with General Zvonimir Cervenko, newly appointed chief of the General Staff of the Croatian Army, by Dubravko Merlic—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Merlic] Good evening. Welcome to our program, and congratulations on your appointment.

[Cervenko] Thank you.

[Merlic] General Cervenko, can you tell us at this moment what the significance of this appointment is for you and what the position of the Croatian Army is? What are your main ideas and what will your main duties be in the difficult period ahead?

[Cervenko] You have asked me a number of questions and it is very difficult to give an answer to the question. What lies ahead? I expect to be much busier, although frankly I have worked quite hard until now. The post of chief of the General Staff means a big responsibility and a great deal of work. It is a very complex duty, especially as our homeland Croatia is at war.

What will change in the Croatian Army? I think that we will change certain things. I personally have some ideas, given that I have already spent five years in the service. I could say, without being modest and also without boasting, that I am fully familiar with the Croatian Army. I know its virtues, but also those things which should be improved, some even replaced. For this reason changes will be made.

[Merlic] While we are on the subject, how do you see the role and duty of General Janko Bobetko, who was very popular among the people and soldiers?

[Cervenko] I am not authorized to assess the work of Mr. Bobetko.

[Merlic] I know, but you yourself said that you are familiar with....

[Cervenko, interrupting] I am familiar with everything Gen. Bobetko did, but it is up to President Tudjman, the supreme commander, to make the judgement. I hope and I am certain that history will make its judgement on everything that Mr. Bobetko did. Gen. Bobetko is my longstanding friend; we have known each other for a long time. [passage omitted]

[Merlic] Let us again look back at history. You said that for the last five years you have been involved with the Army, with defense. During these five years, what do you see as the crucial moment for the Croatian Army?

[Cervenko] Well, not just for the Croatian Army. In my view, and, look, some people may not agree with me...[pauses] I took over as Zagreb city defense secretary in July 1990. I found the situation as it was: everyone disarmed, the Croatian people totally disarmed, we had nothing. I can say, here, openly before the Croatian people, that when I arrived in the Zagreb city defense secretariat, which, together with the Zagreb territorial defense, at that time employed about 570 people, I found only two guns and nothing else, literally nothing else. We all know what we have been through. The Croatian people are not to blame for this war. I can say that the control of the whole of Zagreb was in my hands, I headed the defense, I prepared the city of Zagreb, Zagreb itself made an enormous contribution. Our tasks were numerous. Suffice it to say that Zagreb is a city of 1 million people. It has 240,000 potential conscripts, it has 920 so-called atomic shelters, civil protection units, and so on.

At the beginning of the war, of the so-called tree-trunk volution [when Croatian Serbs used tree trunks to olock roads in 1990], almost at the same time I received reports that weapons were being transferred from the Marshal Tito barracks in Zagreb to Banija and Kordun. I even know the names of those involved in this operation. There were Major Manojlovic, Sergeantt Ilija Sunajko—I know about every single rifle that was taken there, and so on. Of course, we then knew that we had to start preparing for war, and we started preparing for it, not as citizens of Zagreb—and I know a large number of people in Zagreb and they should themselves decide how successful this war has been—I think that it was. Zagreb provided 14 brigades for the Croatian Army, the 1st Guard Brigade was set up in Zagreb, about 6,000 people have had training with it so far, the city of Zagreb provided enormous logistical support, and so on.

After that I worked for two years, or perhaps over two years, in the General Staff of the Croatian Army as deputy chief of the General Staff in charge of home guard units, first under General Tus and later as deputy to Gen. Bobetko. During that period we set up the Croatian Home Guard and created the Croatian Army as it is now. Later I was in the president's office for one year.

Let me go back to your question, to what it was that was difficult. I personally think that the most difficult moment for our motherland of Croatia, for what it went through, was January 1991, or to be more precise 19-24 January. If I were to reveal all the details of what happened during those nights, you and a large number of our people would be shocked.

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[Merlic] What was your role in Operation Lightning in western Slavonia?

[Cervenko] Gen. Bobetko was ill and in the hospital at the time. It is well known that the plans, Lightning 1, 2, and 3, were prepared under his command in the General Staff of the Croatian Army. Work on these plans lasted almost a year. I took part in some of the work and by force of circumstances I deputized for Gen. Bobetko, signing all coded orders, but I did not do all the work on my own. I set up two teams there. One team was headed by Gen. Miljarac, the other by Gen. Vrbanac. The team comprised everyone necessary for the job, from artillery men, military engineers, and so on, which is customary in such a situation. One command post on the ground, in Varesnica, was led by General Marekovic, a young and capable man; the second command post was in Nova Gradiska where Luka Dzanko, commander of the Bjelovar operational zone, was in charge. He had help from General Stipetic. It was team work. Knowing these people and how to deal with people in general, I personally granted them maximum independence and initiative; and I personally think it was one of the reasons why this action was carried out in the the way it was. I think it was carried out very well.

[Merlic] Is the Croatian Army ready for the other Lightning operations that you have mentioned? I am not asking about political decisions.

[Cervenko] It is not my intention to talk about politics. I deal with the Army. First of all, they are no longer called Lightning. But that's less important. The Croatian Army is capable of doing what it has assessed it can do. I think that the Croatian Army is at present sufficiently capable of carrying out all its tasks.

[Merlic] Are your officers, that is, the officers of the Croatian Army, sufficiently trained in the strategic and tactical sense and can some improvements be made? I have seen a report on a completed training of cadets under the command of U.S. generals.

[Cervenko] One often reads in papers about former officers—professional officers there and courage here, and so on [as heard]. Neither gives the right picture. It is a fact, and I can provide evidence, that this war has bred a large number of very capable and talented young people, who of course need specific education. They already have combat experience. I can tell you that, when these people complete their training, and a large number of both officers and units, that is, commanders of certain units, have already undergone such training, the Croatian Army will certainly have very capable officer and noncommissioned personnel. As for the U.S. connection, it is certain that we have a (?MPRI) program in which U.S. officers are involved. Several groups of people have already undergone this kind of training and they achieved very good results. I personally know some of the U.S. generals. General (Warner) is so to speak my friend. He is extremely pleased. The Americans have a high opinion of Croatian officers, not regarding their present motivation, but their ability and desire to work and the results they achieved in the course of the training.

[Merlic] Let us concentrate now on the situation, the unfolding and very topical one, in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Of course, the main issue is the tragic situation involving the refugees, Srebrenica. From the military point of view, how do you assess the balance of forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina and, especially, the role and the place of the Croat Defense Council?

[Cervenko] This is not only a military issue. It is more a political issue. I will tell you something quite openly. I was not quire sure if the enclaves could remain whole, as envisaged. This was clear to me as far back as a year ago. The fact is that the Army of Yugoslavia crossed the Drina and the Danube.

[Merlic] You mean now, for this operation over Srebrenica?

[Cervenko] Yes, it is not rebels, the Serbs in Bosnia or our Serbs in Krajina, and so on, who are involved. The Army of Yugoslavia is fully involved. There is an enormous amount of evidence which I can reveal when necessary. The Army of Yugoslavia was involved before, but this time it is something quite different. When I personally see those pictures on TV, those Serb soldiers, their behavior, the way they walk, their weapons, and so on, there is no doubt that they are not soldiers of the Serb Republic army. They are something quite different. This is the army that has crossed from the territory of Serbia and there are no two ways about it.

Their officers both in Krajina and in the army of the Serb Republic in Bosnia are, in fact, officers of the Army of Yugoslavia. For instance, the one who surrendered in Pakrac, Lieutenant Colonel Harambasic, I have the original of his pay slip issued in Belgrade. I have the original of an order of the Yugoslav Army's General Staff transferring him from one duty to another. I have the original of a document promoting him from the rank of major to lieutenant colonel last December, etc. In other words, this is what is happening.

However, look, they can tell tales that they are an army but what they are doing there is not something that an army does. Mr. Merlic, this is Rwanda, those are Tutsis, they are Scythians and Huns, and the latter would,

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probably, blush to see all that is happening there. For if in one territory you kill 1,000 people and 300 others are forced to commit suicide because they do not want to surrender, and it is known why they do not want to surrender, then we are no longer talking about an army. An army does not do that. This is simply a medieval mentality, full of hatred and aggression against anything that is culture, civilization, urban, and so on. However, this is our opponent.

[Merlic] This is our opponent and we must have effective means to oppose him. I believe that in this responsible position you will be able to find the right means and the right answers to what has been happening and I believe that in the coming period this will become evident both in your work and the work of all the segments of the Croatian Army.

[Cervenko] The Croatian people and the Croatian Army are getting ready. They know whom they have to face and I shall personally do my best, and I think that I enjoy the support of a large number of officers, to develop the Croatian Army so that it can fight this evil. I think that we shall definitely fight it, let the Croatian people know, well, I am saying it here, now publicly.

[Merlic] Gen. Cervenko, thank you, and I wish you a great deal of success.

Croatian Commander in Osijek Views Serb Attack

LD1607222795 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2115 GMT 16 Jul 95

[From the "Picture vs. Picture" program]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Correspondent] We have General Djuro Decak, the commander of the Osijek operational area, on the line. Good evening.

[Decak] Good evening.

[Correspondent] What happened in Osijek at 1940 this evening?

[Decak] What happened today is closely linked with what happened yesterday. By launching combined tank and infantry attacks yesterday and today the Serbs tried to endanger the southern, left bank of the Drava River, on which the town of Osijek is.

The Croatian Army responded. Unfortunately, there are two dead and several wounded. Everything is under control now.

This kind of thing can no longer be tolerated as slight provocations. This was a major attack and we expect adequate steps and orders from my superior command.

[Correspondent] With what kind of force did the Serbs attack?

[Decak] With one company, one Chetnik unit. But our intervention force was ready and we managed to repel them to the positions that they had taken during Operation Lightning [Croatian Army's operation launched in May to recapture western Slavonia], probably fearing that the Croatian Army operation could spread to this area.

I have to say that there can be no claims that any maneuvers by the Croatian Armed Force provoked this Serb action. [passage omitted]

Military Weaponry, Capabilities Described

95BA0274A Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 31 May 95 pp 6-7

[Article by Mario Galic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Five years have passed since establishment of the Republic of Croatia as an independent state, but also since the beginning of the creation of the Croatian Army [HV]. It arose literally from nothing. The Croatian Army today has modern equipment and is well trained, as was proved quite visibly in the recent Operation Flash. Celebration of the fifth anniversary of Statehood Day is a good occasion to show the public some of the armament and equipment that the Croatian Army possesses today, so that people can see that the truly very large amounts of money set aside in all these five years has been spent well and with a great deal of thought. That is why on 30 May a large review of the Croatian Army was organized at Lake Jarun in Zagreb. The event aroused very great interest because this was an occasion to show the domestic public, but also the foreign public, the weapons systems of the Croatian Army not seen until now.

The enemy side will be especially interested in the Croatian long-range surface-to-surface systems, which it was believed up to now were possessed only by the Serbian side, or at least that is what they hoped. From now on, the leaders of the rebel Serbs in Croatia, but also in Bosnia-Herzegovina, will be more careful when they make statements such as "We will hit Zagreb," after the public showing of the Croatian URAGAN long-range missile system at Jarun. This missile, popularly referred to as the Beogradjanka [Belgrade woman] because of its external appearance, is very reminiscent of the SS-23 missile system of the former Soviet Union. With its maximum range of 380 km, it can hit all the major targets not only in the "krajina" or "Srpska republic," but even in Serbia itself. Should it occur to the Serbs to ever again hit Croatian cities with their surface-to-surface missiles, our newest SA-10 (S-300) surface-to-air missile system will be activated; not only does it effectively hit hostile aircraft up to an altitude

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of 25 and a distance of 75 km, but it is also capable of intercepting medium- and long-range ballistic missiles flying at a speed greater than Mach 9. Unfortunately, these missiles cannot bring down such small targets such as the very small Orkan missiles of the Serbian missile system. Instead, the Croatian Army is capable of responding in kind, using the 262-mm Grom SVBR [self-propelled multiple-rocket launcher]. Although the Serbian Orkan and the Croatian Grom are very similar in external form, the Grom has a 6-km longer range (56 km).

Soon a New Tank

For a long time now, 122 mm has been the standard caliber for all Croatian multiple-rocket launchers [VLR]. Thus, a rocket of this caliber is used on the GRAD, VULKAN, and TAJFUN VLR systems, and preparations are nearing completion for series production of the MRAV [expansion unknown] system. All these VLR's have a maximum range of about 20.5 km. The most numerous Croatian VLR at the moment is the Croatian-produced RAK-12, with a caliber of 108 mm and a maximum range of 15 km. In addition to it, Croatia is also manufacturing VLR's with calibers of 60 and 70 mm intended to provide supporting fire at short range.

The most common artillery weapon of the Croatian Army is the D-30 122-mm howitzer, which has a maximum range of 17 km. This very good artillery piece is being successfully manufactured in Croatian special-purpose plants. A second very powerful weapon of Croatian artillerymen is the L33 howitzer, with a caliber of 155 mm and a maximum range of 25 km. The greatest virtue of this howitzer is its ability to fire all standard NATO projectiles of this caliber. Because this caliber is the most common in all NATO armies, an extremely large assortment of artillery shells for various purposes is available.

The most powerful weapon of Croatian Armored Forces is probably the M-84A tank, which is distinguished by very good targeting electronics and high firepower from its 125-mm cannon. Although it is still a very modern tank, Croatian experts are already doing a great deal of work on its successor, which will be a great deal more effective in its general characteristics. The very modern MILAN and FAGOT guided-missile systems are used for antiarmor combat. The MILAN is the standard NATO antiarmor weapon, and is in use in more than 37 countries. Its maximum range is 2,000 meters, and with its warhead it will reliably destroy all Serbian tanks. In addition to guided-missile systems, the Croatian Army is also using T12 antitank guns. A large number of these guns have already received modern electronic sights, which essentially increases their effectiveness against moving targets.

The Moving Arrow

In addition to the SA-10 (S-300) air defense missile system already mentioned, the Croatian Army also has in its armament the very powerful STRIJELA 10-CRO missile system, which is installed on a modern combat vehicle manufactured in Croatia. This is a relatively small, but on the other hand very mobile air defense missile system, which can destroy aircraft at a maximum range of 5 km and at altitudes between 2,500 and 3,500 meters. Units on the battlefield also use the IGLA light air defense missiles for direct defense against enemy aircraft and helicopters. This very modern and effective system, whose handling is fairly simple, has a maximum range of 5 km. Because of its low weight (18 kg) and small size, it can be carried by one man. The missile is fired toward the target from the shoulder. After launching, the missile guides itself to the target. The SA-2 and SA-5 air defense missiles were also shown in the review. The SA-2 missile has a maximum range of 50 km and is used to fire on targets at medium altitudes. The SA-5 missile system is far more powerful, and its maximum range is all of 250 km, which is why it is used to destroy aircraft at very great distances and high altitudes. These two systems, the SA-2 and SA-5, are already quite old, so that their general combat qualities are not nearly as good as the very modern SA-10 system.

The Croatian Navy [HRM] also displayed its weapons at the major review of the Croatian Army. The capabilities of these new weapons only appear to be less than those we have mentioned, while actually they are exceedingly important. The first such weapon is the MNS-M90 sea mine, which is manufactured in Croatia. This noncontact underwater mine is among the most modern in the world in its design and operating mechanism. Because it can be used with equal success in sinking vessels of all sizes, but also in destroying submarines, use of the MNS-M90 mine will greatly impede, if not entirely interdict, secret cruises of Serbian submarines along the Croatian coast.

Helicopters

The Croatian Navy has already introduced one effective weapon in fighting submarines, the MK-44 antisubmarine torpedo. Because this torpedo is 2.57-mm long and 324-mm wide and weighs 198 kg, it can be carried both by combat airplanes and by helicopters. In the Croatian Navy, the role of the principal user of these torpedoes is now the very powerful MI-24 combat helicopter, which is mainly armed with powerful antiarmor weapons. Thanks to its good flight characteristics, this helicopter can also be used against submarines. The op-

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erating principle is very simple. After the submarine is detected, an MI-24 armed with MK-44 antisubmarine torpedoes is sent up from the nearest military heliport and flies to the zone of operation at high speed. Because the maximum speed of the helicopter loaded with these four torpedoes is tenfold greater than the maximum speed of Serbian submarines, there is not the slightest possibility of its getting away. Once an MK-44 torpedo hits the water, its further guidance is completely automated. The explosive charge of the torpedo is not great (40 kg), but it is quite sufficient to seriously damage any conventional submarine. Every Croatian MI-24 can carry as many as four torpedoes at the same time, which in theory is sufficient to destroy two enemy submarines.

The second modern weapon of the HRM, now shown in public for the first time, is the mobile coastal launcher (MOL), which uses RB-15 missiles designed for use against vessels, the same ones that are on the Kresimir and Sibenik missile gunboats, and they have identical characteristics (maximum range 80 km). The principal feature of this new system is its very great mobility on land. That is, the four box-shaped launchers for these missiles are mounted on trucks with very high mobility. In practice, this means that not only the entire coast, but also every major island will soon become an unsinkable warship equipped with very powerful antiwarship missiles.

The review of the Croatian Army showed both to friends, but also to all enemies, only a part of the strength of our armed force. Although a portion of the very modern weapons still remains inaccessible to the public, what was shown at Jarun is enough for anyone to believe in the very great power of the Croatian Army.

RSK Deputies Demand Inquiry on Western Slavonia

AU1407192195 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In a statement issued for the public, the western Slavonia deputies of the Assembly of the Republic of Serb Krajina have expressed dissatisfaction with the Republic of Serb Krajina Assembly's current position on the military fall of western Slavonia, its marginalization, and attempts to conceal the facts and accountability.

Therefore, in this open protest, they demand from the Krajina Assembly chairman that the first point on the agenda of the next session be a report of a state commission examining the causes of western Slavonia's fall and the way in which it happened. They demand that the commission immediately publish all individual statements and gathered evidence that do not encroach on the combat readiness and security of Krajina.

In addition, the western Slavonia deputies demand that no individual or authority be appointed or elected by the Republic of Serb Krajina Assembly until accountability has been established. They are also demanding that an office to deal with the basic daily problems of the people who fled from western Slavonia be opened in Vukovar.

Report: 'Unprincipled Power Struggle' in Krajina

AU1507132895 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jul 95 p 7

[Report by R.K.: "Why Were the Krajina Deputies Turned Back From Tovarnik?"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The extraordinary session of the Krajina Assembly that was scheduled to take place in Mirkovci in western Srem yesterday was not allowed to happen so as to avoid new divisions in the Republic of Serb Krajina. It was also a defensive move aimed at avoiding making the old problems even more acute!

This conclusion could be drawn from the reaction of officials from the eastern part of the Republic of Serb Krajina, who take the view that stopping President Milan Martic and deputies in Tovarnik was an unpopular but necessary move and that this move illustrates noticeable political differences and frustrations in Krajina.

To judge from everything, these differences are the consequence of the lack of readiness on the part of the Krajina Assembly to raise the question of accountability for the military defeat in western Slavonia and the exodus of the local population.

In the contacts that we have managed to establish with several officials from western Srem, they all mentioned the warning that had been issued by the representatives of four municipalities in eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem, and two Republic of Serb Krajina Assembly deputy chairmen, without which one cannot understand what happened at the border crossing yesterday. This document in fact explained the role of the Knin political leadership and the phenomenon of the unprincipled power struggle at the expense of eastern parts of the Republic of Serb Krajina, all of which was meant to spoil relations with Serbia and the FRY. The key message of that document was that Milan Babic can form a new government in Knin, but under the existing conditions, not in Mirkovci.

As we have learned, on the basis of these conclusions, the representatives of the four municipalities instructed the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Vukovar to halt the guests. The police were only carrying out their orders. [passage omitted]

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Serb Group Claims Rights of Serbs Violated

AU1607162995 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 Jul 95

[Report by Dragoslav Kosaric from Zagreb]

[FBIS Translated Text] What is burdening relations between the Republic of Serb Krajina and Croatia, and what is preventing the real and realistic normalization of relations? Our Zagreb correspondent Dragoslav Kosaric has the explanation:

[Kosaric] After several rounds of talks between the ambassadors of leading world powers with the Serbs who live in Croatia, it became clear that, in the standstill in the peace process between Zagreb and Knin, the international players want to exert additional pressure on the Croatian authorities with precisely the position of Serbs in Croatia.

Not accidentally, the Association of Serbs From Croatia has recently sent a letter to the head of the Croatian state in which it claimed that the organization and the activities of the association are being systematically blocked even though it operates in line with the constitutional Law on Minorities. The association also claims that the human and national rights of Serbs in Croatia are still being violated. The letter mentions a number of towns in which group murders of Serbs were committed: Zagreb, Zadar, Sisak, Gospic, Karlovac, Pakrac, and Osijek. At the same time, the letter demands that Tudjman personally order an investigation and keep informed about the initial results during the investigation.

In fact, it is the real position of the Serbs in Croatia that represents the key to the solution between Zagreb and Knin. The representatives of official authorities are no longer even trying to hide their real attitudes toward Serbs.

For instance, in SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, Deputy Prime Minister Misetic publicly stated, quote: From its birth, before it learns to read and write, a child should be taught who its enemy is, and its enemy in our country are Serbs.

This genocidal and xenophobic statement was made by the number two man in the Croatian Government.

Last week, several meetings of Serbs living in Croatia and the representatives of the Croatian authorities were held behind closed doors. This was done at the initiative and through the organization of the international community. Some international players obviously want to internationalize this important issue. One of these talks was held in English, which clearly shows the state of Serbian-Croatian relations.

The Croatian side was not pleased when it was told that Butrus-Ghali, and Cochairmen Bildt and Stoltenberg, and after the talks, Yasushi Akashi, were informed about these talks.

Partial withdrawal of the Croatian Defense Council from Mt. Dinara must be seen in the context of the latest pressure on official Zagreb, as even the Americans and Germans, who are inclined toward Zagreb, fear another offensive by the Croatian Army next fall. The reason is very simple. The operation Bljesak from western Slavonia cannot be repeated.

Yesterday, during the process of unifying all Serb potentials in the independent state of Croatia, a step forward was made: The Association of Serb Organizations in Croatia was founded. The presence of Mr. Veljko Knezevic, head of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Bureau in Zagreb, in this festive act clearly shows that the Yugoslav Government is very interested in the position of the Serb people in Croatia.

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Gligorov Thanks Turkey, Demirel for Support

AU1507125595 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 14 Jul 95 p 2

[Speech by President Kiro Gligorov during an official dinner with Turkish President Suleyman Demirel in Ohrid on 13 July: "Kiro Gligorov: Closeness and Mutual Links Between the Two Nations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed President, Esteemed Madam Demirel, ladies and gentlemen, dear friends:

I wish to express my special satisfaction and honor that my wife and I have the opportunity of being your hosts tonight. Let me welcome you, esteemed president of the friendly Republic of Turkey, Madam Demirel, your esteemed wife, Minister Inonu, as well as the other members of your delegation. Let me wish you once again a cordial welcome and a pleasant stay in our country.

We greatly appreciate your decision to visit our country and we take it as an expression of the important place that you give to the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] in your country's foreign policy. This is another confirmation of the closeness and friendship between our two countries and nations. I would like you to believe that there is great respect and friendly feelings in our country for the Republic of Turkey.

This is exactly why I regret that your state duties do not permit you to stay longer in the Republic of Macedonia. I believe that your visit to the ancient town of Ohrid, the museum town and the cradle of Slavic literacy and culture, as well as your visit to Skopje tomorrow, the capital of the Republic of Macedonia, will be warmly welcomed. I also believe that you will be visiting Bitola, Ataturk's town, the father of modern Turkey, who spent a part of his youth and education there, during your next visit, as well as some other important places in the Republic of Macedonia.

Esteemed President, it is my pleasure to report that today we had a truly open and expansive exchange of opinions on the most important questions of interest to our two countries. It was once again reaffirmed that there is a high degree of understanding and mutual respect, goodwill, and friendship. It is certainly an expression of the great closeness and mutual links between the two nations, of the close economic, cultural, and human relations, as well as of today's confirmed European orientation of our two countries. The positive influence and the contribution of the people of Turkish nationality living in the Republic of Macedonia and of the numerous migrants that were once citizens of our country and are now living with their families in Turkey are of particular significance. It is a credit for our future relations and cooperation.

On this occasion I would particularly like to thank you for the principled and constant support that the Republic of Turkey and you personally have been and still are giving to the Republic of Macedonia in international organizations and institutions, in the interest of peace and cooperation in the southern Balkans.

Your Excellency, ladies and gentlemen, there are many reasons for our satisfaction with mutual relations, particularly regarding the two countries' orientation toward European integration. Unfortunately, unlike our own example, there are armed conflicts with tragic consequences in the region, with human casualties and enormous material damage. As long as there is a war in this region, there is a threat that this situation might spread to our territories. The Balkans, unfortunately, has not been freed from some historical mortgages and an inheritance that signify mistrust, tension, conflict, and embargoes, instead of good neighborly relations. In such a complicated situation, the achievements of our two countries in mutual relations must be highly appreciated. However, we have agreed today that we must further develop overall relations and cooperation between our two countries and that there is a readiness and there are real possibilities for this on both our sides.

The Republic of Macedonia is fully interested in further intensifying relations and in further cooperation with friendly Turkey. Allow me to express my belief that the agreement on friendship, good-neighborly relations, and cooperation between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Turkey that we will be signing tomorrow represents the crowning achievement in relations between the two countries. It will also represent an act that will boost the development of cooperation in all fields of mutual interest and benefit for our two countries and nations. I would also like other neighboring countries to follow this example. We are ready to sign agreements on lasting friendship and cooperation between the Republic of Macedonia and all the Balkan countries on the same principles. In this way, our principled effort to make the Republic of Macedonia a factor of peace and stability in the Balkans will be effectively fulfilled. At the same time, we believe that good relations among all the states in the Balkans, based on European orientation and generally accepted democratic principles, can successfully contribute to the intensification of peace and stability in the region and to the implementation of multilateral cooperation, which we sincerely believe is in the interests of all the Balkan states and nations.

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Demirel Praises Close Relations

AU1707091095 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 14 Jul 95 p 2

[Unattributed report on toast delivered by Turkish President Suleyman Demirel at an official dinner with President Kiro Gligorov in Ohrid on 13 July: "Suleyman Demirel: Turkey Will Continue To Help Macedonia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed Mr. President, esteemed ladies and gentlemen: I am very pleased to be in friendly Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and in the town of Ohrid, whose beauties we are now enjoying, as president of the Republic of Turkey. I want to point out that it is my particular pleasure to have this opportunity to visit your beautiful country, which has a rich culture and tradition.

I believe that the mutual historical and cultural links between the nations of Turkey and Macedonia, as well as the geographical positions of our two countries, are the most important elements that make us even closer in all fields. This closeness is even more intensified by the members of the Turkish nationality living in Macedonia and their relatives living in Turkey, who represent a bridge of friendship between the two countries.

Esteemed Mr. President, the basis of the foreign policy that Turkey is following is contained in Ataturk's thought: "Peace in the country, peace in the world." Starting from this principle, Turkey's goal is first of all to have its country, as well as the region to which it belongs, governed by peace.

We evaluate our relations with Macedonia, with which we live in the same geographic region, within these frameworks. We think the economic and social development of Macedonia, which is in the center of the Balkan region and which has peacefully achieved the process of its independence, is of great importance from a viewpoint of stability in our region.

Being aware of the importance of a strong Macedonia that will accept democracy in all its institutions and will soon complete its development on the bilateral plan, as well as in international forums, Turkey gave Macedonia all available support. Turkey is determined to continue giving its support in the same way in the future.

Esteemed Mr. President, unfortunately, Turkey and Macedonia live in a region burdened by problems, and the wars in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia are still going on. On the eve of the 21st century, the international community is being faced with its own ineptitude to solve this human drama that is taking place in the center of Europe. Unfortunately, the danger of these conflicts spreading to other regions has not been removed yet.

On the other hand, we cannot tolerate some measures and methods of pressure used for solving some problems, which are contrary to the understanding of good neighborly relations. We believe the problems among the states should be solved through dialogue.

Esteemed Mr. President, we accept with pleasure the achieved development in the process of recognition since the time of the proclamation of Macedonia's independence until today, as we have always emphasized. Macedonia's place in the international community will contribute to stability in the region. It is also completely clear that every initiative that has been undertaken with the aim of obstructing your country's efforts to fulfill its rights in a peaceful way will not help the efforts for intensifying stability in the Balkan region. We hope that the obstacles to Macedonia's membership in the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], the Council of Europe, and other international organizations will be removed in a very short term.

Esteemed Mr. President, I fully believe that the working visit that I am paying to your country will promote the relations between Turkey and Macedonia and that the discussions that we had will contribute to an even greater development of bilateral relations. The agreement on friendship, good-neighborly relations, and cooperation that we will sign during my visit, and thus shape the framework of relations between our two countries, is of historical importance. At the same time, this agreement will be a concrete confirmation of the importance that Turkey gives to the stability of Macedonia.

The relations between Turkey and Macedonia will pave the path for revitalizing Balkan cooperation in a form that will be of interest to all states in the region.

Esteemed Mr. President, I will be happy to be your host in Turkey as soon as possible. At the end of my statement, I would like to reiterate my belief that my visit will promote relations between our countries, which have deep historical and cultural links, and I raise this glass to your honor and wellbeing and to the happiness and bright future of the Macedonian people.

20-Year Agreement Signed

LD1407143295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1358 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 14 July (TANJUG)—Kiro Gligorov and Suleyman Demirel, presidents of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] and Turkey, signed an agreement on "friendship, good-neighborliness, and cooperation" in Skopje today.

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The document regulates ties between the two countries on the basis of the principles of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the United Nations.

The agreement contains a special clause that says in the event of aggression against one of the signatories the other will not aid the aggressor in any way.

It was particularly stressed that the FYROM-Turkish agreement was not aimed against the interests of third countries. The agreement was signed for a period of 20 years, with the possibility of renewal every five years thereafter.

The agreement may be terminated at the request of one of the signatories. [passage omitted]

Demirel Addresses Parliament

AU1407175895 Skopje MIC in English 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Presidents Gligorov and Demirel signed a lasting agreement for friendship, good-neighborly relations and cooperation between the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and the Republic of Turkey in Skopje today. Foreign Ministers Crvenkovski and Inonu signed an agreement between the two countries for protection of the investments.

At the end of the two-day friendly visit to the Republic of Macedonia, President of Turkey Suleyman Demirel addressed the members of the Macedonian Parliament, in which he confirmed the profound traditional friendship between the two countries, as well as the commitment of Turkey to continue giving economic and political assistance to Macedonia. They confirmed the mutual strategy of the two countries for Europeanizing the Balkans, which would contribute to its stabilization and inclusion in the modern world. Demirel explained that "truly, there are no political problems between Turkey and Macedonia." According to him "Macedonia is like the heart of the Balkans. It has an exceptionally important strategic position and its stability is of great importance for the whole region, and even Europe."

At the joint news conference, the two presidents expressed their concern over the latest developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the continuation of this war. "The international community did not manage to stop the aggressor, especially since the attacked side has no arms. The world community is implementing an embargo on the side that is attacked. We told the world community if you can't stop the war, at least give the attacked side a chance to defend itself," Demirel said.

The Turkish president expressed support to Macedonia's peace-loving policy and said in relation to the Macedonian-Greek dispute: "Macedonia is a reality and the name it bears belongs to it alone. We are one of the first countries to recognize the Republic of Macedonia, and we feel it has the right to that. Greece should revise its stance with a cool head, in order to maintain the peace in the region, which is also an interest of Turkey."

When asked by Greek reporters whether a solution to the Macedonian-Greek dispute is in sight, Macedonian President Gligorov said: "There is a solution, and it should be reached, but therefore, it is necessary for both sides to exercise good will. Macedonia is showing that with a line of examples. We could easily reach an agreement, provided reality is respected, the dignity of this people, and if measures that are outside the norms of conduct in the international community are not taken."

Commissions Disagree About Tetovo University

AU1407154895 Skopje MIC in English 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The president of the Commission for Foreign Politics of the Assembly of the Republic of Albania Eduard Selami assessed the visit of his delegation to the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], as guest of the Foreign Politics Commission of the Macedonian Parliament, as very successful and a possibility to strengthen the cooperation between the two neighboring countries. In reference to the success of the meeting, the president of the Commission for Foreign Politics of the Macedonian Parliament Ilinka Mitreva gave the same assessment at yesterday's news conference.

At yesterday's news conference it was announced that the two sides reached a high level of agreement, and only their views on the so-called Tetovo university remained different. "We didn't reach consensus on this question, and so we called it a problem that can only be solved through dialogue," Selami emphasized, who positively assessed the meetings and talks with the representatives of the Macedonian Government, as well as the spokesman of the Macedonian Parliament. Ilinka Mitreva explained that "we raised the question as to the name under which the Republic of Macedonia has recognized our country, and we believe that some time soon, we can expect different applications in terms of this question."

PDP Deputies End Boycott of Assembly

AU1407190495 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The deputies of the Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP] of Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] have returned to the Macedonian parliament

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session after boycotting it for more than six months. They walked out of the parliament at a time when Macedonian forces intervened against Tetovo university. For more, Ibadete Hajrullahu is on the line from Skopje:

[Hajrullahu] (?Four) deputies of the PDP of Albanians in Macedonia returned today to the work of the Macedonian Assembly. These deputies abandoned parliament six months ago following the situation with Tetovo university. They also issued demands and said that they would not return to the Macedonian Assembly until they were met. Among their demands was the legalization of Tetovo university, the identification of the killer of Abdylselam Emini, the release of political and educational prisoners, and the official use of Albanian in the Macedonian parliament.

The government has so far not expressed any readiness either to examine or fullfil these demands. Explaining their return to the parliament, the PDP deputies stated that they would continue to be bearers of ideas that encourage and affirm the political force of Albanians in general, but at the same time they would take the utmost care not to become victims of opportunism or attempts to marginalize them, with the sole aim of closing the way to an alternative that may be turned into a politically assessable (?standard).

We recall that several days ago, the People's Democratic Party deputies also decided to return to the Macedonian parliament. It should be added that, according to the parliament's regulations, deputies who are absent for more than six months may be deprived of their immunity and new elections may be called in their constituencies.

High-School Enrollment of Albanians 'Political'

AU1507203295 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 15 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to different sources in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], we are informed that the enrollment of pupils in secondary schools has started there. The enrollment shows that 95 percent of the candidates are of Macedonian nationality, while the same thing does not hold true for the Albanian nationality. Thus, for instance, out of over 2,000 candidates with Albanian nationality in Skopje alone, only 20 percent of them have been enrolled.

To realize this kind of political enrollment, the Macedonian state exploits the so-called competitions. Regarding the enrollment of pupils in the civilian secondary schools, the same methods are being followed as those used in military schools.

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Walesa Decides To Veto Privatization Law

LD1607163895 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1600 GMT 16 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Lech Walesa decided today to veto the law on commercialization and privatization of state enterprises. The president told Polish Radio about it during his visit to Sianow in Gdansk province.

Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych announced earlier that should the president veto this law, a meeting of the Sejm would be held on Friday, 21 July. During the last meeting before the summer recess, the deputies will examine the presidential veto, among other things.

Oleksy Questions Decision

LD1707105295

[FBIS Editorial Report] Warsaw Radio Zet Network in Polish at 0610 GMT on 17 July carries a 25-minute live interview with Polish Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy.

The main topic is yesterday's announcement by President Lech Walesa, after a meeting with Solidarity representatives, that he would veto the law on commercialization and privatization of state enterprises.

Oleksy says that the logical arguments in favor of the law have been ignored: "Unfortunately, the substantive arguments were put to one side. The decision that was announced on 16 July is clearly in the political context of the election game; that's the impression one gets. I think the president, in vetoing this law, clearly becomes the executor of one group of views only. As for the Sejm, he says, "The Sejm will try to reject this veto, I know. The question is: Why all this? I understand the vetoing of a law as the prevention of something bad, something harmful, something that is not progressive, that is worse than the previous solution." "Even if somebody is dissatisfied with the fact that some decisions have to go through the Council of Ministers and the Sejm has to affirm some, that the founding bodies have retained a say in privatization matters, that should not be a reason for halting an entire act, on which the veto might not be overturned, after all. If the Sejm does not reject this veto, we will have the state of affairs of two and a half years ago, practically speaking. So why all that effort?"

Oleksy states, "We could have sat down and come to some solutions, if Solidarity had specified its concept of universal property enfranchisement and not stopped at generalizations; if the opposition had wanted to discuss specific solutions and not shouted that this act was a priori antiprivatization." "Unfortunately, it turns out that, once again, agreement, talking things out, and differing for substantive and not political reasons has suffered a defeat; the president's veto is unfortunately part of this political landscape."

Oleksy continues, "I do not know what enterprise work forces will be told if this law is rejected—work forces that have been waiting for a year for this 15-percent index—even higher than in the Mass Privatization Pact [PPP]—of the right to free shares. Somebody will have to answer people's question: Why were you against this law, inasmuch as it goes further than the PPP, inasmuch as it provides for the wide-ranging privatization of many thousands of state enterprises?"

Oleksy predicts, "I think everyone, both the government and the opposition, will be left with a bad taste in their mouth if this law disappears, if the veto is not rejected, because a great effort has been wasted and the good impulses toward agreement on important issues have not been utilized." "The president will be left with a bad taste, too, I think, because he is vetoing a law, citing mainly the political pressures brought to bear on him."

The rest of the interview covers: a more general discussion of the privatization issue; a report by the interior minister on officials' links to organized crime, which is due to be submitted on 17 July; the increase in the price of Poland's smallest car.

Oleksy: Higher Inflation Cost of Economic Growth

WS1407124295 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 13 Jul 95 p 16

[Article by Hanna Nowakowska: "The Prime Minister Has a Word on the Economy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "We view the higher-than-projected inflation rate not as a disaster but as the cost of economic growth," said Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy on 12 July at a meeting with representatives of the largest international companies and banks.

Among them were representatives of several dozen of the most important companies in the world, including banks such as Barclays, Raiffaisen-Centrobank, ABN Amro, and Westdeutsche Landesbank, and firms such as Olivetti, Solvay, Volvo, Compaq, DHL, Hoechst, and Intel. They came to Warsaw for a two-day conference, the 50th meeting of the International Public Affairs Center, an organization grouping leaders in international business. The session is a series of working meetings with members of the Polish Government and the National Bank of Poland.

Inflation Is Not a Calamity

"We should not underestimate the social costs of transformation in Poland and the whole region," said the

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prime minister. "We cannot afford a social conflict at the moment because it would jeopardize the entire transformation process. That is why we are not despairing that inflation will be several percentage points above the projected level."

Prime Minister Oleksy did stress, however, that he is not underestimating the issue, although he did admit that the anti-inflation package passed in May was two to three months late and was the reason it was impossible to attain the goal of lowering the rate of inflation to 17 percent by the end of 1995. He said he believed inflation would drop to below 10 percent in 1998.

Pawlak Was Bad

Prime Minister Oleksy criticized the Pawlak government, saying that "some privatization processes were unnecessarily slowed by the previous cabinet." He praised his own government: "We have launched the privatization of the particular industries: The privatization of the tobacco industry has already been launched, the privatization of the fuel industry is to begin in July. Telecommunications and power are next."

Oleksy noted that privatization no longer generates any conflicts. The controversy of whether to privatize has ceased to exist. The two major problems that still remain to be solved are the restructuring of agriculture and heavy industry because Poland still does not have the necessary capital reserves.

The Opposition Is Bad

"The opposition is lying in wait," commented Prime Minister Oleksy on the new law on the commercialization of state companies, which was deemed by some papers (including GAZETA WYBORCZA) as the end of privatization.

He stressed that it was the trade unions that appealed to the president to veto it.

"Poland is full of paradoxes," he said. "A center-left government made up of postcommunists like me is introducing a market economy, and trade unions that overthrew communism, like Solidarity, are now coming forth with populist slogans."

The prime minister spoke volubly. He boasted that he had worked with Balcerowicz ("I think you know the name") in one institute and in one party organization. "The only difference between us was that Balcerowicz paid his membership fees on time. I can tell you that now the television crews have left," Oleksy quipped.

He concluded his presentation with the words: "That is all." He received huge applause. The journalists were thanked for coming.

Jacek Kuron Wants Constitution Out of Campaign

LD1507214395 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2100 GMT 15 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Jacek Kuron, the candidate of the Freedom Union [UW] for president, wants to call on the other presidential contenders to exclude the issues of the new constitution, the pension system, and health-care reform from the political debate during the election campaign. In his opinion, as far as the constitution is concerned, a social agreement is necessary. And the pension and health-care systems can only be damaged by a political discussion.

Most of all, I want us to be capable of organizing decent elections, Kuron said, adding that the outcome of the elections was less important to him than their quality.

SLD Takeover of RZECZPOSPOLITA Feared

WS1407124495 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 14 Jul 95 p 1

[Article by "WK": "Government, Elections, Press; Kwasniewski's RZECZPOSPOLITA?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] RZECZPOSPOLITA has received a letter from Privatization Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. Journalists suspect this is the first step in a takeover of their paper.

Kaczmarek asked for "an opinion on transforming the RZECZPOSPOLITA State Publishing Company into a company owned by the State Treasury." The company holds a 51-percent stake in the firm publishing the daily; the rest belongs to the French company Hersant.

"We will invite the minister for a long discussion and find out what this is about. I do not believe his intentions are bad," assured Director Maciej Ceglowski.

The journalists fear the worst: "The SLD could use a daily with a high circulation before the presidential election. If they do take control, the majority of us will go to work for purely private papers."

What does the government plan to do? The journalists think the company will be commercialized, and Minister Kaczmarek "will take on proprietary functions." He will then establish a supervisory council, appointing his men as members. The council will appoint the board, which in turn may appoint a new chief editor.

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Defense Ministry: Army Cannot Make More Cutbacks

LD1407163795 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1600 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy had a meeting lasting over two and one-half hours at the Office of the Council of Ministers with Defense Minister Zbigniew Okonski and other Defense Ministry officials. They discussed the development of the Polish armed forces. Today's meeting was the next in a series of meetings the prime minister is holding with the ministers of the so-called presidential ministries [defense, foreign, and interior].

Grzegorz Kolodko, deputy prime minister and finance minister, reported that the government intends to earmark 82 trillion old zlotys for defense next year. According to Kolodko, Defense Ministry officials see no possibility of further economies and cuts in spending on the Army. Defense Minister Zbigniew Okonski said that Prime Minister Oleksy has no reservations about the Defense Ministry's administration.

The next meeting is scheduled for September.

Report Linking Crime, Civil Servants

LD1407114895 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1057 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 14 Jul—Minister of Internal Affairs Andrzej Milczanowski will submit a top secret document containing information on links between civil servants and the criminal world to the president and the prime minister on 17 July.

After the meeting of the Council of Ministers' Defense Committee, the head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs told a PAP journalist today that, in Poland, there are the beginnings of certain phenomena that may be considered as mafia associations. These associations concern the contacts between the underworld and officials at the lowest administrative level, Milczanowski explained. He added that the fact that an official meets somebody he should not be meeting does not mean that this is the mafia.

In his report, Milczanowski will not reveal any names. After receiving this document, the prime minister will consider the possibilities of measures to combat this fledgling phenomenon.

Head of Police on Crime Rate, Gangs, Mafia

WS1407140495 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 14 Jul 95 p 4

[Article by Bogdan Wroblewski: "Crime This Year. Gangs Yes but No Mafias"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"Mafia structures have not yet formed in Poland," said police Chief Inspector Jerzy Stanczyk at a news conference summing up half a year of police operations on 13 July.*

Out of 465,000 offenses (a growth of 6.8 percent as compared with the first half of last year), as many as 400,000 were crimes. The crime rate is highest in the viovodships of Warszawa, Legnica, Szczecin, Slupsk, Gdansk, and Gorzow. Its most rapid growth was noted in the voivodships of Elblag, Tarnobrzeg, and Pila.

The police are particularly disturbed by the growth of robberies and extortion (blackmail) and by more than 21,500 car thefts.

"Bids are now being held to introduce registration booklets and establish a nationwide automobile data bank. Do we have to establish a new team of experts and wait three years for a further 20,000 cars to disappear from the streets?" asked Stanczyk, displeased with the lack of any government decisions on the matter.

Mafia or No Mafia

"A mafia will not emerge as long as the gangs are at war," said Stanczyk. "Mafia structures began forming in March and April 1994, when criminal groups tried to join forces in Warsaw. We took care of that. The best lawyers defend the most dangerous criminals, but none of the politicians has yet come to the police, saying: 'Do not touch that guy.' There is no mafia in Poland," he stated.

Stanczyk gave assurances that the police did not give the minister of internal affairs any material on ties between politicians and criminal groups. "The minister has other sources of information," he said in reply to questions on such ties, which Minister Milczanowski is to report on to the prime minister.

He admitted that money is laundered in Poland. Two cases have already been filed with the prosecutor.

"We have a list of policemen from various services who seem to be susceptible to corruption by criminal groups," he added.

Andrzej Buczynski, head of the Organized Crime Bureau, presented a report on 293 of the most dangerous gangs. They group some 4,000 people; 119 of them cooperate with international groups, 56 deal with drugs,

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30 counterfeit money and documents, 17 recover debts, etc. This year the police handed over 383 gang members to the prosecutor and arrested 238.

Stanczyk disclosed that the police are currently carrying out operations against several groups, which, among other things, distribute explosives and drugs. Now that "Pruszkow" has been destroyed, the largest gang operates in Warsaw. Its name and "interests" have not yet been discovered by the media.

Do You Know the Perpetrator?

"Police data on crime are remarkably incomplete," says Professor Andrzej Siemaszko, director of the Justice Institute. "International reports for 1992 show that the rate of undetected crimes in Poland was at a high of 70 percent. A new study is to be carried out in January. I am very curious about the findings," he says.

"The complete helplessness of the police in the face of the recent bomb explosions is pitiful," sates Siemaszko. He says of the car thefts: "I bought a car a year and a half ago. It was broken into eight times. Most recently, I finally went to police headquarters. The first question I was asked was: 'Do you know the perpetrator?'"

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Chamber of Deputies' Nastase Departs for FRY

AU1707091895 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0400 GMT 17 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, Adrian Nastase, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies of the Romanian Parliament, will start an official visit to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY]. A short while ago, he gave a telephone interview to our correspondent Dana Popescu; the first question referred to the significance of this visit:

[Begin recording] [Nastase] The visit to Belgrade and Montenegro over the next three days takes place in a situation when developments on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, with a particularly complex ethnic, economic, political, and territorial character, presuppose a new, I would say perhaps even a better approach to the current problems and will attempt to take into consideration the legitimate interests of all sides.

I believe that it is a very important moment now to look more carefully into the matter and with responsibility incumbent on neighbors in such situations, and, together with the efforts currently being made to halt the accentuated situation of conflict in Bosnia, see whether it would be possible for us to participate together—I am referring to all European countries—in a new effort that would lead to peaceful solutions to the conflict.

[Popescu] So whom are you going to meet in Belgrade and Podgorica?

[Nastase] I have a very busy program scheduled for Belgrade. On 17-18 July, I am going to meet with Mr. Bozovic, the speaker of the Chamber of Citizens; Mr. Milos Radulovic, the chairman of the Chamber of Republics; Zoran Lilic, FRY President; Mr. Kontic, the President of the Federal Government; and with Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic. I will also be meeting with Mr. Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia; with Mr. Tonic, the president of the parliament of the Republic of Serbia, and with other leaders in Belgrade. On 19 July, the last day of my visit, I will be going to Podgorica, Montenegro, where I will be meeting with political leaders of that republic.

Thus I will be having many contacts that I hope will be useful in this effort to become better acquainted on the spot with what is currently happening in the space of the former Yugoslavia. At the same time, we will see whether we can participate in any way in the efforts that are currently being made to ease the extremely tense situation currently prevailing in the neighborhood of our borders.

[Popescu] Thank you, Mr. Nastase. We shall see you in Bucharest upon your return, if not before.

[Nastase] Thank you very much.

Bishops Urge Faithful To Protest Education Law

LD1507113395 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 15 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Two church leaders in Erdely [Transylvania] have called on the faithful to protest against the Romanian education law, which is unacceptable to the minorities. Tibor Bogdan reports:

[Bogdan] Laszlo Toekes, bishop of Kiralyhagomellek [Bucea District] and Jozsef Szenfi, Catholic bishop of Nagyvarad [Oradea] in a letter have called on Protestant and Catholic churchgoers to protest against the chapter of the Romanian education law discriminating against the minorities.

The two church leaders asked for their joint letter to be read at church services tomorrow. In their letter, they support the initiative of the World Federation of Hungarians according to which an ecumenical service is to be held in Debrecen [eastern Hungary] on 27 July. The participants of the service will protest against the education law and other decrees endangering minority church schools in Romania and Slovakia.

Bishops Laszlo Toekes and Jozsef Szenfi have also asked the Hungarians living in the border regions of Romania to join the service in Debrecen in the largest possible numbers and to raise their voices in protest against the education law aimed against the minorities.

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Federal

UK Envoy Upbeat on Lifting of Sanctions

LD1607162895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1430 GMT 16 Jul 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 16 (TANJUG)—Charge d'Affaires of the British embassy in Belgrade, Ivor Roberts, Sunday said he had a strong belief that a major chunk of anti-Yugoslav sanctions would be suspended by the end of the year. Roberts told Kragujevac Radio that he based his optimism on the peacemaking role of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, which he supported.

A success of that peacemaking action would be a great victory of reason and a solution to the Bosnian crisis, he said. Roberts said that much depended on Milosevic's talks with Co-Chairman of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia Carl Bildt.

Charge d'Affaires of the French embassy in Belgrade Gabriel Keller said in an interview with the same radio station that the situation in the former Yugoslavia, and especially in the former Yugoslavia Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, had deteriorated in the past few days and that the powers committed to war had overwhelmed the powers of peace.

Yugoslavia's role in settling the crisis in the former Yugoslavia is indispensable, and it should primarily be directed at stopping military activity and respecting the human rights of civilians and UN personnel, said Keller.

Responding to reporter's remark that Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Milosevic personally were not all-powerful when Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic is concerned, the French diplomat said: "I know Serbia cannot do everything. We do not believe that the Bosnian Serbs are the puppets of Belgrade but we believe that Belgrade could exert considerable influence and pressure and it should be long-termed, rather than short-termed."

Relations Established With Georgia, Turkmenistan

LD1407161295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 14 Jul (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] will have diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level with two more countries beginning tomorrow, the Republic of Georgia and Turkmenistan. This brings the number of countries with which the FRY has diplomatic relations to 159, according to information from the federal Foreign Ministry.

The Federal Government approved the decision to establish relations at ambassadorial level with Georgia and Turkmenistan at a session on 6 July. Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic had previously reached agreement on this with the Georgian and Turkmenistan authorities during his official visit to these countries last month. [passage omitted]

Serbia

Milosevic Meets With Akashi, Stoltenberg

AU1507144995 Paris AFP in English 1423 GMT 15 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 15 (AFP)—The UN special representative Yasushi Akashi and the UN mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg met Saturday [15 July] with the Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade, a UN official said.

The official, reached in Zagreb by telephone, was unable to give further details though it is assumed the two men were in the Serbian capital to discuss the on-going crisis in eastern Bosnia where Serb troops threaten Zepa, a second UN safe area after earlier seizing the safe area of Srebrenica.

An aide to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali said Friday, Stoltenberg would be sent to the region to make an assessment of what the UN could do about the threatened UN safe areas. No announcement had been made about a possible visit to the Serbian capital by Akashi.

Stoltenberg, a Norwegian diplomat, has been involved in the political process to settle the Bosnian crisis for some time. He is viewed favourably by the Serbs, and caused uproar recently when he allegedly said Bosnia's Moslems were in fact Serbs who had converted to the Islamic faith, remarks seen by the Moslems as a denial their separate ethnic identity.

On Friday the Bosnian Government said it would no longer work with the two men who they accuse of helping the Bosnian Serbs through their failure to take action to halt Serb attacks on government areas.

Ivan Misic, Bosnia's charge d'affaires at the world body's headquarters in New York, said it did not mean the Bosnian Government was breaking off relations with the United Nations.

Receives Mediator Carl Bildt

LD1407171895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1648 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 14 Jul (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today received

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Carl Bildt, cochairman of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, who arrived in Belgrade.

There was an exchange of views on the most important issues relating to the current political situation and the steps which should be taken to achieve a peaceful solution to the crisis in the area of former Yugoslavia.

Radicals: UN Resolution on Srebrenica 'Silly'

AU1407144995 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jul 95 p 4

[Article by J. Spahic: "Milosevic Wants Secession of Eastern Slavonia and Baranja"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade—"The Serbian Radical Party welcomes the operation by the army of the Serb Republic, in which Serb Srebrenica was finally liberated and which finally routed one of the strongholds of Muslim terrorists," Maja Gojkovic, deputy chairman of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], said at yesterday's news conference. She also said that the UN Security Council [UNSC] resolution calling on the Serbs to withdraw from Srebrenica was "extremely silly." "It has yet to be recorded in history that the Serb army leaves Serb lands because the United Nations fancies it," Maja Gojkovic stressed, adding that the Serb side would continue its operations "to liberate Zepa, Gorazde, and then finally Sarajevo, which will solve the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Speaking about the postponement two days ago of the Krajina assembly, because the police prevented Krajina deputies from entering Mirkovci, the SRS deputy chairman said: "Slobodan Milosevic staged the postponement, since he does not want a government led by Milan Babic with members of the Serbian Radical Party of Krajina in it. Two days ago, Slobodan Milosevic began to advocate openly the secession of eastern Slavonia and Baranja from the Knin part of the Republic of Serbian Krajina. He even deployed the private army under the command of Zeljko Raznatovic Arkan, stationed in Erdut, to forcefully keep deputies from entering another part of their own country." [passage omitted]

Commentary Justifies Srebrenica's Capture

AU1507160095 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Jul 95

[Commentary by Bosko Antic]

[FBIS Translated Text] The international community, that is, the superpowers, will fight for the realization of their interests (?through) Yugoslavia. The admissions that Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia [the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], and especially Bosnia-Herzegovina were recognized prematurely are only coming now. This was the mistake that led to a war which has been going on for four years. It is clear to everybody that Bosnia-Herzegovina is [words indistinct] on the borders, with the existence of (?five) [words indistinct] the Muslim territory cannot [word indistinct].

The United Nations, too, has not fulfilled its task. It permitted the Muslims from the safe havens of Srebrenica, Zepa, Gorazde, Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Bihac constantly to (?attack) the Serb territories. Not only were the Muslims in these safe havens not disarmed; they were even armed, unfortunately, under the umbrella of the humanitarian aid and (?in spite) of the arms embargo. They have never received a serious warning for these attacks. (?In contrast to them, whenever the Serbs) responded to these attacks they were punished by air strikes from the NATO air force, which wants to impose rather than maintain peace.

Alija Izetbegovic has been losing war for three years. However, with his fanaticism he is persistently leading the Muslims into damnation. It is without doubt that not all Muslims agree with him; however, they are the people who only acknowledge force and force is still in Alija's hands. Probably, [words indistinct].

Because of the incessant offensives of the Muslim forces the Serbs had no other military option apart from the one that they undertook last week. They captured Srebrenica, issued an ultimatum to the residents of Zepa to surrender, and announced that a similar fate will befall Gorazde if the attacks on the Serbs from this so-called safe haven do not stop.

(?Examining) the situation from the military point of view, Srebrenica could have been captured a long time ago. However, this was not done for political reasons and out of respect for the agreements. [Words indistinct] due to constant armament of the Muslim units [word indistinct] what had to be done was done. The Serb Republic Army and its commander Ratko Mladic carried out this operation in conformity with all principles of warfare. Good preparation, high morale [word indistinct], and few losses on their side.

The international reaction to the Serbian [word indistinct] ranged from approval and understanding that this was the only way, to calls for restoration of the previous situation by force. The belligerence of French President Jacques Chirac, who would like to restore the Srebrenica safe haven by force, is surprising. He does not appear to be perplexed by the fact that the Muslims are constantly killing his soldiers in Bosnia. [Words indistinct] to put the blame on the Serbs, who are then bombed for

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it, only to transpire shortly afterwards that the soldiers were killed by the Muslims.

To the international community, that is, those who [word indistinct] cannot or would not understand that the only way to achieve peace in Bosnia is to stop applying double standards, stop supplying the Muslims with arms, and lift the sanctions against the FRY. In this way Alija Izetbegovic and the hawks around him will be compelled to stop the war and take the path of negotiations for the resolution of the Bosnian tragedy.

The Muslims are getting ready for an offensive against the Serbian territories around Sarajevo again. Although these territories are part of a safe haven, UNPROFOR is doing nothing to prevent the attacks on the civilians [word indistinct] Sarajevo. Will the old story repeat itself? Namely, the Muslims threaten, then launch an attack, and for as long as they have some success the UN does not undertake [word indistinct]. However, when the Serbs respond and as a matter of rule inflict losses on the enemy, NATO air power appears on the scene. The UN Security Council is passing resolutions which condemn the Serbs. It is high time that [words indistinct] learn and realize that the Muslims, at least their leadership, do not want peace.

Babic, Martic Ability To Secure RSK Questioned

AU1707103795 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jul 95 p 7

[Article by Radovan Kovacevic: "Babic's See-Saw"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to agency reports, Milan Babic has informed the president of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] that he has completed consultations on forming the new government and that he has secured the necessary parliament majority for it. The Krajina parliament is expected to hold a session in a few days. That means a formal end of the crisis provoked by the no-confidence vote to the previous government, led by Prime Minister Borislav Mikelic.

Does Babic's attempt have any chance of succeeding, and is the RSK moving away from its old muddles?

The Knin Cadre

According to official information, it could be concluded that Babic had no intention of creating a government of experts. He left out the most competent ministers, and instead he included, allegedly at Martic's request, three radicals who are believed to belong to the harder, Seselj faction of the party [Serbian Radical Party]. As for his own ministers, he retained nearly all who were in the previous government, although they have been heavily criticized, in particular the trade minister.

There should be two vice presidents in the new government, which Babic's Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] of Krajina earlier never allowed Mikelic to have.

In most cases Knin remains the cadre base for the crucial sectors (defense, finance, information). This town and its surroundings provide the cadre for the entire state leadership: The president of the republic, prime minister, president of parliament, national bank governor....

All that has already started provoking tensions among regions, since eastern Slavonia (160,000 inhabitants and one third of the territory, just like Lika, Banija, and Kordun) will be forced to take the role of the periphery.

And yet that is only the first obstacle. Babic has to unravel a hard and complex knot of political and economic problems, and regain the trust of Belgrade, which he has turned his back on several times already. The Krajina leadership is constantly reminded of the events that resulted in the catastrophe of western Slavonia, and of the tragic exodus of the Serb population, which is still going on. The parliament session in mid-May should have discussed who was responsible for this. However, Martic and Babic, together with a number of church dignitaries, suddenly brought up the subject of urgent unification with the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina].

The Degrading of Serbia

It all resembled a bad scenario designed to save Martic as president of the Supreme Military Council at all costs. The mentioned proposa was preceded by a rally of Martic's followers in Knin; they threatened to lynch anybody who opposed unification. Quite a few Krajina politicians were beaten by Martic's police. So, the threats were for real. The radicals and the SDS of Krajina, disregarding the Constitution, voted and decided to give priority to the unification issue. Borislav Mikelic, as prime minister, opposed that, seeing in it a camouflage of the political and legal responsibility for the fall of western Slavonia, and pointing out that decisions of that sort cannot be made without the government adopting a position or without the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; he was removed, unconstitutionally, on 29 May.

Thus, because of the momentary concerns of individuals, the negotiating option was pushed aside. All signs indicated that there was some political agreement with Pale, the final intention being to degrade the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the RSK. That policy had tried to strengthen Krajina economically and support its state functions from the inside, avoiding war conflicts as much as possible, until an acceptable political solution for the RSK was reached through negotiations.

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Does that mean that the Pale line, together with the radicals, has achieved final victory in the RSK? Analysts remind us that the idea of urgent unification has already been defeated, after two months of hesitation. The creation of a unified state implies a joint government, which questions the meaning of Babic's present efforts. The Serb Republic and the RSK held a referendum on unification in 1993, but they kept postponing the act, sometimes in the interest of Knin, at other times because of Pale. It seems that the latest unification project has experienced the same fate.

The "Urgency" Was Late

True, some things have become clearer in the RSK since General Mile Mrksic was appointed commander in chief of the Krajina army. It appears that he was just the right choice, because he is now conducting an expansive campaign to fortify the defense lines and improve combat readiness to a much higher level. It seems that Martic has already noticed that he stands on the sidelines in this extremely important work, that is, that he cannot expect to be allowed to meddle in it, as he could in General Celeketic's time.

There have already been renewed requests for the rendering of accounts because of the military defeat, but also because of the sudden advance of the Croatian Army on Mt. Dinara, to which the Pale leadership did not react. Namely, only the new parliament can say what the RSK is going to look like, create a more realistic platform for the future of the young state, decide on the relations with Serbia, and pronounce judgment on the recent events and on the idea of the "urgent" unification, used for the needs of everyday politics.

Only in this way, Krajina chroniclers believe, can the process of disintegration of the RSK be stopped. Official Croatia did its best to destroy the results of the negotiating process through their aggression, and particularly through the desecration of Jasenovac; and yet, they had to think about world reaction. Krajina has the right to defense, and that is what its army is for. It secures the negotiating process, which, because of the essential interests of Krajina itself, must not be stopped, since otherwise the documents behind which the United Nations and Europe stand lose their significance.

However, neither Babic nor Martic are good negotiators. They have mostly survived as critics of Belgrade, which leads to the conclusion that, in conducting state politics, they first have to get things right in their own heads.

Kosovo

Rugova Seeks 'Negotiated Settlement' With Serbs

AU1507171095 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President of the Republic of Kosovo, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, received today in Prishtina [Pristina] Mr. Peter Summerscale, head of the European Community Monitor Mission (ECMM) Regional Centre in Belgrade. In his meeting with Mr. Summerscale, President Rugova spoke about the current situation in Kosovo, which has been deteriorating due to the Serbian continued campaign of repression and violence against the Albanians. Dr. Rugova reiterated the stance that the solution to the Kosovo issue should respect the political will of the people expressed in the referendum on the independence of Kosovo. He also said that an international civil administration, as an interim stage, would create prerequisites for a peaceful political solution to the Kosovo issue. We should seek a negotiated settlement to the Kosovo issue in a dialogue with the Serbian side, under the mediation of a third authorized party, President Rugova underscored.

Mr. Summerscale shared an interest in different aspects of the Kosovo problem, and praised the nonviolent and peaceful policy pursued by the people in Kosovo.

Praises Clinton's 'Support'

AU1507172195 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 14 Jul 95

[Report on news conference by Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosovo, in Pristina on 14 July]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President of the Republic of Kosovo, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, hailed today the solemn act of admission of Albania in the Council of Europe, which occurred yesterday in Strasbourg. "This is an eloquent proof that the Republic of Albania has been treading firmly on the democratic path," Dr. Rugova told reporters at a press conference in Prishtina [Pristina], adding that he wishes to see Kosovo be one day admitted in the Council of Europe and other European institutions, too.

President of the Republic of Kosovo welcomed the stance of U.S. President Bill Clinton on prevention of spreading of conflict southwards in the Balkans as well as Clinton's "constructive support to the Kosovo issue." He further hailed the passage of a Kosovo amendment to the Foreign Ops Appropriations Bill [as received] by the House of Representatives earlier this week. "The U.S. Congress and the European Parliament, as two great

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national and international institutions, have for years now been supportive of the Kosovo issue," President Rugova underscored.

Touching on the current state of affairs in Kosovo, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said "Kosovo reality has been repressive," citing reports of Serbian police crackdown on numerous towns and villages. Home raids by Serbian police expeditions are accompanied by severe maltreatment of citizens, Kosovo president said. He made mention of political activists, mainly LDK [Democratic League of Kosovo] people, being targeted throughout Kosovo, but also Albanian teachers, "although now is the time of summer holidays."

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova denounced Serbian regime's determination to continue building settlements in Kosovo for Bosnian and Croatian Serbs, the newest one being a kibbutzlike settlement with 96 houses at Miradi e Eperme in Fushe Kosova.

President Rugova demanded the halting of two Serb staged political trials in Prishtina and Prizren, in which 72 and 44 Albanians, mostly former Kosovo police personnel, are being tried. He further demanded the release of all political prisoners and halting of Serbian repression practices in Kosovo. "I call on local Serbs not to provoke their Albanian neighbors," Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said, in reference to a case in Klina, where a young Serb provoked an Albanian, which was then followed by Serbian police repression of the Albanians in the neighborhood.

Asked by a reporter to comment on the decision of the Peasants Party of Kosovo (PFK) to temporarily suspend its activity, President Rugova said the move would be soon considered by the Coordinating Council of Albanian Political Parties. He said he viewed the move as an attempt to promote issues towards a more positive path, and not as a negative declaration. "These are processes that occur in a pluralist system," Kosovo president said, adding that he would see to it that the PFK's move is addressed in contacts with that party. "We will do our utmost to see that they resume their activities," Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said.

The Croatian HINA news agency correspondent wanted Dr. Rugova's comment on the recent Serb assault on Srebrenica safe haven enclave in Bosnia, and its possible implications as to the possibility of extension of fighting in other areas. President of the Republic of Kosovo said: "Escalation of fighting in Bosnia threatens peace and security in other parts of the region as well. Therefore, we have been calling for a political settlement of the Bosnian crisis and all other issues in the former Yugoslavia, including the Kosovo issue."

Lauds U.S. 'Special Understanding'

AU1607172195 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 15 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At a regular meeting with representatives of the Democratic League of Kosovo [LDK] branches, President of the Republic of Kosovo Dr. Ibrahim Rugova spoke about the situation in the republic and several aspects of the internationalization of its issue, as a key question for the stability of the region. Here is a report by Mehmet Haziri from Prishtina:

[Haziri] According to a communique published by the Kosovo Information Center, President of the Republic of Kosovo Dr. Ibrahim Rugova spoke about the level of the affirmation of the Kosovo issue in the United States and the political, diplomatic, and humanitarian assistance that this country is offering to Kosovo.

He recalled that, for 10 years, the U.S. Congress and Administration have been regularly following the situation in Kosovo and have been expressing special understanding for the grave situation of Albanians and their aims for freedom, democracy, and independence.

Chairman Rugova then spoke about the approval of the amendment on Kosovo by the House of Representatives at the U.S. Congress and the meetings and talks held sometime ago with U.S. Secretary of State Christopher and other U.S. high ranking officials. Rugova stressed that the approval of this amendment is a result of good understanding and represents an important moment in our relations with the United States.

As is known, through this amendment the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress requests from the U.S. Administration that the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro be conditioned on the improvement of the situation in Kosovo and that Kosovo be taken under international protection as a special ethnic unit, and particularly be placed under international protection. The U.S. Congress also demanded that the Government of Kosovo and its leadership be allowed to exercise a legitimate mandate as an elected representative of the people of Kosovo, Dr. Rugova underlined.

At this meeting with the LDK branch representatives, Chairman Rugova pointed out several important topics such as the approval of the amendment on Kosovo within the framework of the law on assistance to other countries, its approval by acclamation, and the general consensus of the congressmen about its content. As an important element, Rugova pointed to the large and affirmative debate on Kosovo that was held on this occasion in the U.S. Congress.

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Speaking about the grave situation in Kosovo and the region and the possibility that it may further aggravated, Chairman Rugova stressed that a permanent preoccupation of the U.S. Administration is to prevent the war from extending from Bosnia to Kosovo and to other countries in the south Balkans. U.S. President Clinton affirmed this stance in a recent statement on the dramatic situation in Bosnia and the dangers it carries for the whole region, Rugova pointed out.

Peasants Party Announces Suspension of Activities

AU1507172595 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Peasants Party of Kosovo (Partia Fshatare e Kosoves, PFK), one of the five parties represented in the Republic of Kosovo Parliament, is suspending its activity for an unspecified period of time, according to a statement of the party carried in today's BUJKU newspaper. The PFK was initially formed to combat communism, to strive for equality and self-determination of the Albanians, independence and democratization of Kosovo, and the internationalization of the Kosovo issue, the statement says.

The PFK recalls in the communique it has strongly supported the Independence Declaration of 2 July 1990; the promulgation of the Republic of Kosovo Constitution; it has participated actively in the referendum of 27-30 September 1991; supported for the formation of the Kosovo Provisional Government; supported and participated in the 24 May 1992 elections, having launched the idea that the president of the Republic be elected through direct vote, which was approved by the rest of the political forces in Kosovo; it was one of the initiators for the establishment of the Coordinating Council of the Political Parties in Kosovo, and the Coordinating Council of Albanian Political Parties in the Former Yugoslavia, as well as Kosovo Financing Fund.

The Peasants Party of Kosovo, according to its communique, has been adamant to see an institutionalization of life in Kosovo after the May 1992 elections. "The PFK floated the idea that, while the Parliament was not operational, where the political will of the people was to be carried, a Presidential Council be created, as a body which would include the intellectual and political potentials, and would have the authority of decisionmaking in all matters." It is not clear from the PFK communique as to how would the Presidential Council be appointed, nor its implications for the democratic infrastructure in Kosovo.

To make it more controversial, the PFK cites as one of its reasons for suspending activity the fact that in "the aftermath of the parliamentary and presidential elections of 24 May 1992 improvisations have reached such a level that one cannot tell the borderline between the legislative and executive function of the decisionmaking mechanisms." The Peasants Party of Kosovo points out 10 reasons for its suspension of its activity. The Peasants Party of Kosovo says it hopes its "temporary secession of activity will have a positive impact on our public opinion, so as to exert pressures on the decisionmaking instances who have responsibilities for the changing of the prevailing situation."

The communique, signed by PFK chairman Dr. Hivzi Islami on 11 July 1995, asserts PFK will resume its activities once the "above-mentioned circumstances have changed."

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